

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxii. 8, 9.

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We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for the *Monthly*:

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Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52 High street, and 8 Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173 Trongate.

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place.

Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4 Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. W. S. PRINGLE.

America Called upon to Send Evangelical Missionaries to China.

The venerable and pious JOHN ANGEL JAMES, who, during more than a half a century, has discharged the duties of a pastor in Birmingham, England, to the same congregation, and has connected his name with most of the benevolent movements of Great Britain during the last thirty years, now calls upon the American churches to avail themselves of the opening made by British cannon for the entrance of the gospel into China. His letter, published in the *Independent* of last week, is a document quite remarkable as coming from a man so well stricken in years. It is alive with zeal, earnestness, hope and enthusiasm, such as a man of thirty might feel under the first awakening of his spiritual nature. Time has done little to quench the ardor of his religious feeling, or his spirit of religious enterprise. He speaks for a cause which reaches eternity, and speaks with his whole heart.

Nevertheless, we think he has spoken to but little effect in the direction of the main purpose of his epistle. His letter contains a few words which cannot be other than distasteful to the Evangelical Christians of America. He tears open the great moral and religious "wounds, bruises, and putrefying sores" of America. He removes the polished marble and exposes the rottenness and dead men's bones of American slavery. This offence of his, this irreverence, this meddling with what does

not concern him, will very effectually bar the minds of our mind-your-own-business-Christians against his pious missionary suggestions. Mr. JAMES approaches his American brethren with much meekness and humility; but these will hardly excuse the offence already mentioned.—It is all well enough for Evangelical Christians to meddle with the religion and social arrangements of China; but for a venerable English clergyman to call attention to abuses in this Evangelical Christian country, is an impertinence which no amount of devotion to the cause of evangelical religion can excuse. Read what the old man of the Birmingham pulpit says to the American churches:

"What a moral as well as political and commercial power are you thus destined by Providence to wield—provided you get rid of slavery, that enormous evil which is your sin, your shame, and your misery; which deteriorates your character and lowers your reputation; which is the cause of so much social disorganization and national weakness; and which Washington with fearful misgivings, permitted to enter into the fatal original compromise. Till America has washed her hands of this crime she cannot be what Providence seems to have destined her to become—the model, the reformer, and the benefactor of the world. You are not, and cannot be, insensible to this. Of what consequence is it, therefore, that the philanthropic and evangelic principle should grow with your growth and strengthen with your strength; and thus, together with the Fatherland, be the joint benefactors, through all its future history, of the whole world."

Upon the whole, we do not regret anything which binds the spread of our American slaveholding religion, or weakens its strength and respectability at home or abroad. It will be no great loss to China if she remains destitute of a religion which steals the babe from the mother, and makes merchandize of the image of God. A church which fellowships the Imp of Hell, who lashes the slave to toil, and pockets the earnings of his blood and sweat, should be confined to a very small corner of our globe. We have no manner of respect either for such a church or for its religion.—And just such a church as this, is the Evangelical Church of America. Her ministers, North and South, are "dumb dogs," and her communion a communion of men-stealers. Once in a while we hear a prayer for universal freedom, but evidently more in apology for the slaveholder than in sympathy for the slave—more as a defence against the charge of pro-slavery, than as an earnest outburst of heartfelt compassion for those in chains.

The Rev. JOHN ANGEL JAMES makes altogether too much of our recent revival of religion, in his appeal. In this, however, he has only fallen into an error, which even those who are better provided than he with the means of forming an intelligent opinion of its character, have fallen into. He looks upon it as an unusual work of grace, a peculiar mark of Divine favor, a genuine regeneration, a vast step towards the destruction of the ways and works of the Devil, when in fact it has left our religious people more at peace with themselves, and with oppression, than they were before, and less disposed to cast out slavery

from Christian communion than ever. Both the American Board of Commissioners, and the American Tract Society, are more confirmed in this slaveholding policy than ever, since the revival. In view of the pro-slavery attitude of the American churches, we cannot but feel that every such appeal to them for assistance in the work of evangelizing the world, as that now made, is hurtful to the cause of true religion, in that it assumes that a church can be dead to the claims of humanity at home, and alive to those claims abroad; that a church can be steeped to the lips in the guilt of slaveholding, and yet profoundly concerned for the salvation of souls; that men can serve God and Mammon at the same time; that God will be pleased to see their uplifted hands, though they be stained with blood.

The effect of such recognition is bad. Mr. JAMES is a burning and a shining light among Congregational Christians in England. That such a man, with all his known piety and benevolence, calls upon American churches, as if they were really Christian churches, to help in making China a Christian country, they will take as another evidence of their goodness. Upon no point are the Christian people of Great Britain more united, than on that which affirms the utter sinfulness of slavery. They hate, loathe and detest it, and pray for its abolition. Thousands of them would be willing to give a portion of their means of living, if, by that, they could purchase the freedom of the American bondman; and yet in one way or another, British religious influence is constantly given against the slave and in favor of slavery. It is in the power of the British religious Press and Pulpit to abolish slavery in America.—Those two powers could make slavery an outlaw the world over. Let the British Press and Pulpit but make slaveholding stand with kindred crimes, and refuse in any way to recognize the Christianity of those who deal in the bodies and the souls of men, and slavery would receive a blow which would send it staggering to its grave. It would cheer and encourage the hearts of those who are struggling to free the church here from the guilt of slavery. But to this hour, those who have separated themselves from pro-slavery churches, such as the Wesleyans and Free Mission Baptists, have failed of British recognition, while correspondence, and other tokens of fellowship, are kept up with those churches which still fellowship and defend slavery.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD.—We have the pleasure to lay another letter from our friend, Miss GRIFFITHS, before our readers.—There is no pen more devoted to the slave than hers, and few hearts more keenly alive to the wrongs and miseries of the American bondman than hers. To his cause she is ever true, whether in England or in America, whether applauded or persecuted. The letter in our present number cannot be read without stirring the deepest sympathy for the slave, and impressing the reader afresh with respect and esteem for its gifted writer. God grant that her health and strength may be continued, and that her benevolent purpose to work for the cause of Emancipation during the year to come may not be defeated, or in anywise hindered!

1859—The New Year.

We have arrived at another mile-stone in life's eventful journey. Since our last issue, we have entered upon the margin of the unwritten page of another new year. We have placed the invisible line dividing the past from the present, the old year from the new, in our rear, and are advancing now upon the noiseless minutes, hours, days and months of the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine! Grateful to God for his mercy and goodness in sparing our lives, and preserving our powers and faculties, we embrace the moment to pour out, in our broken way, our heartfelt acknowledgments, and to re-dedicate all that we have and are to the service of that cause which involves the deliverance of four millions of our heart-broken countrymen from a worse than Egyptian bondage, assured that in no other way can we bring a more acceptable offering to the altar of our God.

Would that this might prove the year of jubilee to those now toiling millions! Would that this were the day of release! But no wavering shadow of this coming event falls upon our vision. We walk by faith, not by sight. Eminent men all over the Union—men who are watching the signs of the times from opposite out-looks, and from different motives and the stern facts, upheaved to view by the gigantic struggle for the overthrow of slavery, tell us that the auspicious day of freedom is yet far away. How long! how long! O Lord God of Sabbaoth! shall the crushed and bleeding bondman wait? How long shall wicked men bruise and batter thine own image, and sell men and women like brutes for gold? How long shall those who make our laws, frame mischief by law, and grind the faces of the poor? How long shall our religion be a cloak for crime, and our churches remain the frowning bulwark of slavery, with all its train of lust, cruelty and blood? How long shall the bondman be despised, his wrongs neglected, and God be mocked by those who minister at the altar of American religion?—How long shall "Sabbaths," "new moons," "solemn assemblies," "empty forms," be offered unto God, in the place of breaking every yoke, undoing the heavy burdens, and *letting the oppressed go free?* O! who can answer—who can tell the end we long to know?

More than two hundred years have passed, mute spectators of the sorrows and suffering which American slavery has inflicted on our sable race. Every year increases the victims of bondage, and the number of their oppressors. Every year sees the conscience of the South more and more at ease, and the bones and sinews of the slave more and more coveted, while the price of human flesh is steadily rising, and the demand for more victims ever increasing. The foreign slave trade, condemned as piracy by our Government fifty years ago, is virtually re-opened, and a cargo of stolen Africans has been quietly landed on our shores, and the human plunder duly divided and distributed on Georgia plantations. Each national administration of our Government exceeds its predecessor in the boldness and shamelessness of its devotion to slavery, and in contempt for the rights and liberties of the free States, and is more and more determined to degrade the colored race. Strange and sad as it is, the fact cannot be denied, that while earth and hell seem moving steadily on in this accursed business, the elements opposing it

give signs of faltering. Abolitionism proper has been largely superceded by Republicanism, which all diluted and spurious though it was in its origin, is still too anti-slavery for many who rank among its leaders, and who are, therefore, plotting to extinguish what little of anti-slavery life there is in that organization. Such is one side of this picture. Thank God! it is not the only side. There is, aside from the mere abstract righteousness of our cause, much in the shape of positive progress to cheer and strengthen us. Slavery has been increasing, but anti-slavery has also been increasing. There is a knowledge of the character of slavery in this country essential to united action against it, which has been spread abroad at much cost of time and labor. This is not lost. There is seed time and harvest in reforms as well as elsewhere. This is still the seed time with us. Rely upon it, we have not spoken, written or printed in vain.—No good word can die. No righteous effort can be unavailing in the end. Considerations of this character, and an abiding faith in a God of justice ever presiding over the destinies of men, cheer us on in whatever of labor or suffering the year 1859 may have in store for those whose mission it is to labor for the abolition of slavery in the United States.

An Example worth Copying.

That the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light, finds another illustration in the action of the slaveholding Democratic members of the United States Senate in removing STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS from the Chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Territories. Without the slightest sign of a wry face, they have dispatched the Little Giant, whose broad shadow but a few days ago did bestride the country.—Honor to the slaveholding Democratic Senators! They have set an excellent example of fidelity. They tolerate no doubtful or equivocal position, and admit of no compromise. Their soldiers must march at the word of command, even into the open jaws of political death, or fall in their tracks pierced through and through by the bayonets from behind. No past services, no gallant achievement, no distinguished daring on other occasions, can save the present disobedient and faltering. Past obedience avails nothing. Advance, or be shot, is the iron rule of the slaveholding Democracy.—With it there is no middle ground between doubt and death. "The plank must bend to the ship, not the ship to the plank," is the wholesome doctrine laid down and practically adhered to. No excuse, no pretext, no doing the same thing in a different way. Straightforward is the word, and straightforward you must go, is the stern mandate of the slavery Democratic party.

In all the North has there been found a more bold or unscrupulous assailant of the anti-slavery movement than MR. DOUGLAS—one who has more bitterly assailed and traduced the free colored people of the North—one who has used his power as a Senator more earnestly to extinguish every vestige of respect for the rights of an enslaved race? Not one. If any man could expect to be allowed a little elbow room, a little chance to play fast and loose in a peculiar position, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS might. No man could better claim the privilege of having an opinion of his own, as to how he should act in re-

gard to peculiar circumstances, than STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. He himself, doubtless, thought that, considering his past services to slavery, and the necessities of his situation in the recent canvass, he might be allowed to use the ghost of his old theory of Squatter Sovereignty, notwithstanding the DRED SCOTT decision. Mistaken man! He ought to have known his masters better. In what a wretched plight does he now find himself. Even the bridge which he used last winter, between him and the Republicans, has been broken down by his own hands, and now, while cut off from his own party, he is equally cut off from those who gave him strength last winter.

But it was not to explain the situation of DOUGLAS, that we took up this subject. It was to notice the example of stern consistency which the action of the slaveholding party presents, and to commend it to the attentive study and imitation of those who profess a desire for the final eradication of slavery from this land. We may learn wisdom from our enemies. Consistent, steady, and uncompromising adhesion even to a bad cause, gives to it the appearance of virtue, and is a source of strength. So, too, an inconsistent, vacillating, crooked and compromising advocacy of a good cause, only serves to weaken and hinder that cause.

What a marked and decided contrast is presented between the conduct of those who seek the endless perpetuation of Slavery, and those who would be understood as acting in opposition to that policy. One is bold, uncompromising, imperative, watchful, jealous guarding its interests in human flesh at every point, promptly advancing to every attainable position of security, and as promptly punishing any hesitation to follow the line of conduct which the safety of slavery is supposed to require.—While the one demands unity of idea, sentiment, opinion and principle, the other seems not to care whether you have any ideas, sentiments, principles or opinions. If you only are opposed to the Administration, no matter from what cause, you are a good enough Republican for our Republican leaders!

The difference between the two may be stated thus: The one party is honestly in earnest, really aiming to accomplish its professed objects, and the other clearly is not. We say this, not of the masses of Republicans, but of the leading men in the Republican party. Witness the scheming going on for a union with the FILLMORE and Fugitive Slave Bill Americans. Witness the readiness with which DOUGLAS was caressed and conferred with. Witness the sedulous efforts of the Tribune to efface all the platforms of the Republican party, and really even to effect the disorganization of the party. See how readily the Republican press rushed upon and throttled the only distinctive feature of the recent Rochester speech of Senator SEWARD. Witness the yearning for alliance with those who have not one principle in common with elements which gave birth to the Republican party. Witness the silence about Congressional prohibition of Slavery in the Territories. In all directions, you see doubt, hesitation, and cowardice. Instead of meeting slavery in a manly way, telling its friends and supporters, that they will neither ask nor accept any terms of peace with it, our Republican leaders are looking around for some common ground upon which slaveholders and non-

slaveholders can go into the Presidential canvass of 1860.

If the present anti-slavery movement shall loose its hold on the public mind, and shall fall into utter weakness, as the Chartist movement did in England, and as the Temperance movement has done in the United States, it will be due to the compromising and cowardly manner with which the movement is now conducted by those to whose hands anti-slavery men have committed their cause. Who now can tell what are the principles of the Republican party on the subject of slavery?—Who can tell whether they go for Congressional prohibition, or Popular Sovereignty? No body. Well would it be for us if we could learn to respect and cling to the cause of freedom with something like the manly and unflinching fidelity, which marks the course of those who are dealing in "*slaves and the souls of men.*"

African Civilization Society.

"But I entreated you to tell your readers what your objections are to the civilization and christianization of Africa. What objection have you to colored men in this country engaging in agriculture, lawful trade, and commerce in the land of my forefathers? What objection have you to an organization that shall endeavor to check and destroy the African slave-trade, and that desires to co-operate with anti-slavery men and women of every grade in our own land, and to toil with them for the overthrow of American slavery?—Tell us, I pray you, tell us in your clear and manly style, 'Gird up thy loins, and answer thou me, if thou canst.'"—[Letter from Henry Highland Garnet.]

Hitherto we have allowed ourselves but little space for discussing the claims of this new scheme for the civilization of Africa, doing little more than indicating our dissent from the new movement, yet leaving our columns as free to its friends as to its opponents. We shall not depart from this course, while the various writers bring good temper and ability to the discussion, and shall keep themselves within reasonable limits. We hope the same impartiality will be shown in the management of the *Provincial Freeman*, the adopted organ of the African Civilization Society. We need discussion among ourselves, discussion to rouse our souls to intenser life and activity.—"Communipaw" did capital service when he gave the subtle brain of Wm. WHIPPER a little work to do, and our readers the pleasure of seeing it done. Anything to promote earnest thinking among our people may be held as a good thing in itself, whether we assent to or dissent from the proposition which calls it forth.

We say this much before entering upon a compliance with the request of our friend GARNET, lest any should infer that the discussion now going on is distasteful to us, or that we desire to avoid it. The letter in question from MR. GARNET is well calculated to make that impression. He evidently enjoys a wholesome confidence, not only in the goodness of his own cause, but in his own ability to defend it.—Sallying out before us, as if in "complete steel," he entreats us to appear "in manly style," to "gird up our loins," as if the contest were one requiring all our strength and activity. "Answer thou me if thou canst?"—As if an answer were impossible. Not content with this, he reminds us of his former similar entreaties, thus making it our duty to reply to him, if for no better reason than respect and courtesy towards himself.

The first question put to us by MR. GARNET is a strange and almost preposterous one. He

asks for our "objections to the civilization and christianization of Africa." The answer we have to make here is very easy and very ready, and can be given without even taking the trouble to observe the generous advice to "to gird up our loins." We have not, dear brother, the least possible objection either to the civilization or to the christianization of Africa, and the question is just about as absurd and ridiculous as if you had asked us to "gird up our loins," and tell the world what objection FREDERICK DOUGLASS has to the abolition of slavery, or the elevation of the free people of color in the United States! We not only have no objection to the civilization and christianization of Africa, but rejoice to know that through the instrumentality of commerce, and the labors of faithful missionaries, those very desirable blessings are already being realized in [the land of my fathers] Africa.

Brother GARNET is a prudent man, and we admire his tact and address in presenting the issue before us, while we cannot assent entirely to its fairness. "*I did not ask you for a statement of your preference of America to Africa.*" That is very aptly said, but is it impartially said? Does brother GARNET think such a preference, in view of all the circumstances, a wise and proper one? Or is he wholly indifferent as to the preference or the other? He seems to think that our preferences have nothing to do with the question between us and the African Civilization Society, while we think that this preference touches the very bone of contention. The African Civilization Society says to us, go to Africa, raise cotton, civilize the natives, become planters, merchants, compete with the slave States in the Liverpool cotton market, and thus break down American slavery. To which we simply and briefly reply, "we prefer to remain in America;" and we do insist upon it, in the very face of our respected friend, that that is both a direct and candid answer. There is no dodging, no equivocation, but so far as we are concerned, the whole matter is ended. *You go there, we stay here,* is just the difference between us and the African Civilization Society, and the true issue upon which co-operation with it or opposition to it must turn.

Brother GARNET will pardon us for thinking it somewhat cool in him to ask us to give our objections to this new scheme. Our objections to it have been stated in substance, repeatedly. It has been no fault of ours if he has not read them.

As long ago as last September, we gave our views at large on this subject, in answer to an eloquent letter from BENJAMIN COATES, Esq., the real, but not the ostensible head of the African Civilization movement. (Those who wish, can find those views in number 560, Vol. XI, of *Frederick Douglass' Paper.*)

Meanwhile we will state briefly, for the benefit of friend GARNET, seven considerations, which prevent our co-operation with the African Civilization Society.

1. No one idea has given rise to more oppression and persecution toward the colored people of this country, than that which makes Africa, not America, their home. It is that wolfish idea that elbows us off the side walk, and denies us the rights of citizenship. The life and soul of this abominable idea would have been thrashed out of it long ago, but for the jesuitical and persistent teaching of the

American Colonization Society. The natural and unfailing tendency of the African Civilization Society, by sending "*around the hat*" in all our towns and cities for money to send colored men to Africa, will be to keep life and power in this narrow, bitter and persecuting idea, that Africa, not America, is the negro's true home.

2. The abolition of American slavery, and the moral, mental and social improvement of our people, are objects of immediate, pressing and transcendent importance, involving a direct and positive issue with the pride and selfishness of the American people. The prosecution of this grand issue against all the principalities and powers of church and state, furnishes ample occupation for all our time and talents; and we instinctively shrink from any movement which involves a substitution of a doubtful and indirect issue, for one which is direct and certain, for we believe that the demand for the abolition of slavery now made in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the Living God, though long delayed, will, if faithfully pressed, certainly triumph.—The African Civilization Society proposes to plant its guns too far from the battlements of slavery for us. Its doctrines and measures are those of doubt and retreat, and it must land just where the American Colonization movement landed, upon the lying assumption, that white and black people can never live in the same land on terms of equality. Detesting this heresy as we do, and believing it to be full of all "deceivableness" of unrighteousness, we shun the paths that lead to it, no matter what taking names they bear, or how excellent the men who bid us to walk in them.

3. Among all the obstacles to the progress of civilization and of christianity in Africa, there is not one so difficult to overcome as the African slave trade. No argument is needed to make this position evident. The African Civilization Society will doubtless assent to its truth. Now, so regarding the slave trade, and believing that the existence of slavery in this country is one of the strongest props of the African slave trade, we hold that the best way to put down the slave trade, and to build up civilization in Africa, is to stand our ground and labor for the abolition of slavery in the U. S. But for slavery here, the slave trade would have been long since swept from the ocean by the united navies of Great Britain, France and the United States. The work, therefore, to which we are naturally and logically conducted, as the one of primary importance, is to abolish slavery. We thus get the example of a great nation on the right side, and break up, so far as America is concerned, a demand for the slave trade. More will have been done. The enlightened conscience of our nation, through its church and government, and its press, will be let loose against slavery and the slave trade wherever practiced.

4. One of the chief considerations upon which the African Civilization Society is recommended to our favorable regard, is its tendency to break up the slave trade. We have looked at this recommendation, and find no reason to believe that any one man in Africa can do more for the abolition of that trade, while living in Africa, than while living in America. If we cannot make Virginia, with all her enlightenment and christianity, believe that there are better uses for her energies than employing them in breeding slaves for the market, we see not how we can expect to

make Guinea, with its ignorance and savage selfishness, adopt our notions of political economy. Depend upon it, the savage chiefs on the western coast of Africa, who for ages have been accustomed to selling their captives into bondage, and pocketing the ready cash for them, will not more readily see and accept our moral and economical ideas, than the slave-traders of Maryland and Virginia. We are, therefore, less inclined to go to Africa to work against the slave-trade, than to stay here to work against it. Especially as the means for accomplishing our object are quite as promising here as there, and more especially since we are here already, with constitutions and habits suited to the country and its climate, and to its better institutions.

5. There are slaves in the United States to the number of four millions. They are stigmatized as an inferior race, fit only for slavery, incapable of improvement, and unable to take care of themselves. Now, it seems plain that here is the place, and we are the people to meet and put down these conclusions concerning our race. Certainly there is no place on the globe where the colored man can speak to a larger audience, either by precept or by example, than in the United States.

6. If slavery depended for its existence upon the cultivation of cotton, and were shut up to that single production, it might even then be fairly questioned whether any amount of cotton culture in Africa would materially affect the price of that article in this country, since demand and supply would go on together. But the case is very different. Slave labor can be employed in raising anything which human labor and the earth can produce. If one does not pay, another will. Christy says "Cotton is King," and our friends of the African Civilization movement are singing the same tune; but clearly enough it must appear to common sense, that "King Cotton" in America has nothing to fear from King Cotton in Africa.

7. We object to enrolling ourselves among the friends of that new Colonization scheme, because we believe that our people should be let alone, and given a fair chance to work out their own destiny where they are. We are perpetually kept, with wandering eyes and open mouths, looking out for some mighty revolution in our affairs here, which is to remove us from this country. The consequence is, that we do not take a firm hold upon the advantages and opportunities about us. Permanent location is a mighty element of civilization. In a savage state men roam about, having no continued abiding place. They are "going, going, going." Towns and cities houses and homes, are only built up by men who halt long enough to build them. There is a powerful motive for the cultivation of an honorable character, in the fact that we have a country, a neighborhood, a home. The full effect of this motive has not hitherto been experienced by our people. When in slavery, we were liable to perpetual sales, transfers and removals; and now that we are free, we are doomed to be constantly harassed with schemes to get us out of the country. We are quite tired of all this, and wish no more of it.

To all this it will be said that DOUGLASS is opposed to our following the example of white men. They are pushing East, West, North and South. They are going to Oregon, Central America, Australia, South Africa and

all over the world. Why should we not have the same right to better our condition that other men have and exercise? Any man who says that we deny this right, or even object to its exercise, only deceives the ignorant by such representations.

If colored men are convinced that they can better their condition by going to Africa, or anywhere else, we shall respect them if they will go, just as we respect others who have gone to California, Fraser Island, Oregon and the West Indies. They are self-moved, self-sustained, and their success or failure is their own individual concern. But widely different is the case, when men combine, in societies, under taking titles, send out agents to collect money, and call upon us to help them travel from continent to continent to promote some selfish or benevolent end. In the one case, it is none of our business where our people go.—They are of age, and can act for themselves.—But when they ask the public to go, or for money, sympathy, aid, or co-operation, or attempt to make it appear anybody's duty to go, the case ceases to be a private individual affair, and becomes a public question, and he who believes that he can make a better use of his time, talents, and influence, than such a movement proposes for him, may very properly say so, without in any measure calling in question the equal right of our people to migrate.

Again it may be said that we are opposed to sending the Gospel to benighted Africa; but this is not the case. The *American Missionary Society*, in its rooms at 48 Beekman Street, has never had occasion to complain of any such opposition, nor will it have such cause. But we will not anticipate the objections which may be brought to the foregoing views. They seem to us sober, rational, and true; but if otherwise, we shall be glad to have them honestly criticised.

THE LAW OF EMANCIPATION IN TENNESSEE.

—The following is a postscript of a letter just received by us from Tennessee:

"I will give you a short account of a law which passed at the last session of the Legislature of this State, on Emancipation, and how it is ruled by the Court. In an adjoining county an able man, seeing the evil of slavery, and his conscience, no doubt, smiting him, when about to die, made his will that one of his sons (naming him) should take his slaves (fourteen, I think) to a free State and emancipate them. It was brought before Chancery for certain preliminaries, whereupon the Court decided that, according to the late act, it could not be done; that the law said no slave could be taken from this to a free State and set at liberty; that they must be sold to the highest bidder for one year, to raise money to transport them to Liberia, although the son stood by to plead that he might carry the will into effect. When the son got up to ask the privilege of speaking, the Judge would not allow him to say one word; and although the will was made long before the act passed, it could have no effect whatever. I was an eye witness to all of the proceedings. Another law says you shall not set at liberty any slave in this State. Chivalry in high places!—The tighter they pull the string, the sooner it will break."

OBSERVER."

The new Governor of South Carolina, Mr Gest, says in his inaugural message: "It is to be hoped that no occasion will arise requiring the state to call upon her sons for the defense of her rights and institutions." But believing that this hope will prove fallacious, he continues: "We should not only endeavor to unite the state but the entire South, so that when we can no longer retain our places in the confederacy we will be prepared to form a more perfect union under the style and title of the United States of the South."

The Anglo-African Magazine.

The new year has thus far brought to our notice nothing more gratifying and encouraging than this new publication. The advent of a monthly magazine, devoted to Literature, Science, Statistics, etc., is no new thing under the sun, and especially not new in our country.—The United States abound in such publications; but to our knowledge, nothing of the character of the magazine before us, has ever been attempted by any member or members of the colored race in the United States. We have had numerous newspapers, a good many pamphlets, a few unpretending poems, a few biographical sketches, mostly narratives of fugitive slaves, some written by themselves, others only written at their dictation, the amanuensis furnishing the words, and the fugitives the facts; but beyond these, nothing has been even attempted. The *Anglo-African* is a bright new fact, and we trust the beginning of an era in the mental, moral, and religious history of the colored people in this Republic.—Whatever may be the fate of this new publication, in point of patronage, whether it shall succeed or fail, for want of support, we sincerely rejoice to see the attempt made, and made so well.

The Contents of the *Anglo-African* for January are as follows:

Embellishment—Portrait of Alex. Dumas.

Apology (Introductory)—Editor.

Alexander Dumas—Editor.

Civilization: Its dependence on Physical circumstances—James McCune Smith.

Attraction of Planets—Martin R. Delany.

Blake, or the Huts of America.

Mrs. Partington and Mrs. Freshington.

Colored American Patriots—Wm. C. Nell.

Selected Items.

The feature of the magazine for the present month is the essay of Dr. J. McCUNE SMITH, showing the dependence of Civilization on physical circumstances. The subject is one of great interest, independent of its bearings upon relations existing in this country. To those who know Dr. SMITH, it need not be said that his essay is a learned and masterly one. But we will say this and more, for it is an original and brilliant production—one which we would gladly see in the hands of all the political and ethnological malignants of the colored races of men. MARTIN R. DELANY, it will be seen, has chosen a lofty subject. He has given a peculiar theory, ascribing to electricity the office of keeping the heavenly bodies in order which other very able men have ascribed to the law gravitation. Mr. DELANY dismisses all our fears that this firm old earth of ours is to be smashed up one of these coming days by a collision with any other body in space. We shall refer again to this new magazine, and meanwhile wish Mr. THOMAS HAMILTON, its enterprising publisher, every success in this praiseworthy effort to promote literature and learning among our people.

EMANCIPIATED.—A slave of T. Surget of Natchez, Mississippi, was recently sent by his legal owner to Cincinnati, and furnished with money and the papers necessary for obtaining his freedom, together with a letter to a gentleman of Cincinnati, requesting him to see that the business was properly attended to, and saying that the man when free, might return or not, at his option, there being no law in Mississippi, forbidding his return. The gentleman having seen the deed of emancipation duly recorded, the late slave, now a free man, chose to return to his old home in Mississippi. The reader will not fail to remark the contrast between the law of Mississippi and Kentucky. By the latter, emancipated slaves are banished from the State.—*Free South.*

The Signs of the Times.

Were we, as a watchman upon one of the towers of the anti-slavery Zion, to be enquired of, concerning the signs of the times, we fear our answer would be less hopeful than that of the watchman of old. We could answer with great readiness, "the night cometh," but with what reason could we say "and also the day?" Are there any signs which betoken the near approach of day to the desolate and weary bondman? Are the people, as in former times, aroused to the subject of the slave's wrongs? We confess that for ourselves we are saddened at the aspect. Abolitionism has become so attenuated, by the mixture of "non-extension," that there is but little of strength remaining. We do believe most sincerely that before there shall be much hope for the slave, the Abolitionists must return to the old method of preaching. The slave and the slave's wrongs must be brought vividly before the people, and the deep wickedness of slaveholding must be pressed upon the heart and conscience. It will not do to tell the people that chattel slavery is wrong, but the slavery of the mind is a greater wrong. This kind of anti-slavery preaching is not the kind to produce anti-slavery labor. We admit that the enslavement of the mind is greater than that of the body, but, in the name of Justice, does not the chattel slave suffer both? Were his mind, his soul, free, would he not soon break the fetters that bind his limbs? We may be too sensitive, but it does seem to us that there is much of negro hatred to be abolished, even among those who call themselves anti-slavery men and women. Somehow the thought and feeling has obtained among them, that the negro does not suffer by being trodden upon, as does his proud white brother. Could we once make the people feel that a man is a man, no matter what may be the color of his skin, the texture of his hair, or the form of his features, the work of exterminating slavery were easily accomplished. The old fashioned doctrine that "God hath made of one blood all nations of the earth," is surely not accredited by the religionists of our land. If so, if the professed Christian recognized in the black man a brother of the same blood, a child of the same heavenly father, capable of the same attainments, destined to the same "glorious inheritance," would he pass him by with a sneer—aye more, with insult, gross and low? Would he refuse to take a seat at his side, in the house dedicated to the worship of the one Father? No, here lies the difficulty; in these times of great light, "the light is still darkness," in regard to the manhood of our oppressed race. "If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness," was said in reference to a people, less blinded perhaps than this generation, in regard to justice and moral honesty. Such being the case, it seems to us that the times demand of the tried Abolitionist the most earnest and active work. Alas! that the workers are so few. This is one of the signs of the times which we deplore. Time was when the public workmen were many, and when the means were easily obtained to keep in circulation anti-slavery papers, such food as the people must have before them, and of which they must daily partake, to prepare them for any thing like efficient practical labor in the great cause of human liberty. Now our papers are eaten out by those which today speak for freedom, and to-morrow for op-

pression. The Republican press supplies most of the daily reading for the liberal man, and surely its anti-slavery is weaker than the milk required for babes. How shall we change these things and bring about a truer state? It is easily "to discern the signs of the times," but to change them requires more than human power.

Republican Governors and their Messages

We have read with some interest, and much care, the several Messages, put forth by the recently elected Republican Governors of some of our Northern States, hoping ("though perhaps against hope") to find something which should give us renewed courage, for the great work of Human Liberty. Alas! for the result; with the Governors, as with the people, old fashioned, genuine Anti-Slavery, or Abolitionism, has very little root; the plant has become so weak, and wilted, that one familiar with the native growth would scarcely recognize it as belonging to the class known as *workers for Freedom*. Governor MORGAN, whose anti-slavery was so loudly proclaimed to the people before his election, finds no occasion, in his Message, to utter an anti-slavery sentence. How frequently we were told, during the campaign, that we were doing a very wicked thing to advocate the election of GERIT SMITH, in opposition to the anti-slavery candidate of the Republican party. We feared then, what seems to us to be proved now, that the anti-slavery of Mr. MORGAN was not the kind that would bear the test of office. We have looked in vain, through the entire Message, to find one word of advice to the assembled Legislature of New York in favor of granting the Elective Franchise to all her sons, irrespective of color. This would hardly be called an anti-slavery act; but this was even too much for our Republican Governor. Will this delinquency serve to open the eyes of the ten thousand colored men, who gave their votes for his Excellency? We would it might; but they have had too many lessons of the kind heretofore to give us much confidence in the salutariness of this. So much of the Message as relates to slavery, seems to us very weak and insipid. The South is very pleasantly told that "New York will not interfere with her system of labor;" she even disclaims all "*wish to do so*," though she very modestly assumes it as her right to express the opinion, that "liberty is superior to slavery, if the issue shall be legitimately presented." "If the deliberate sentiment of the people, constitutionally expressed, shall favor slavery extension, New York will submit, as she always has submitted; she has no threats to make." How does the tone of the above quotation compare with the bold sayings of Senator SEWARD, in his famous speech of last fall, and which gained so many of the should-be-Abolitionists to the Republican platform. But Mr. SEWARD's speech was given previous to the election, and our quotations are from the Message of an *elected Governor*. The Governor of New York, perhaps, is taking credit to himself that he has said even these few weak words, as these are even more than Governor BANKS, of Massachusetts, has uttered. The *Boston Traveller* tells us that after the delivery of the Message, Hon. CALEB CUSHING availed himself of the first opportunity to express his approbation of its sentiments. Does any one need to be told, after knowing that CALEB

CUSHING was satisfied and approbated that Message, that it was silent upon the great subject of human rights? And Governor CHASE, of Ohio, has nothing new to say upon the subject; he said it all in a previous Message. We would not be bitter. We would only fix the wrong where it justly belongs, but we must remember who sat in the gubernatorial chair, when poor MARGARET GARNER sent her child home to its God, to save it from slavery.—We also remember that for this act, which, according to the statute law of Ohio, is foul and deliberate murder, and for which the penalty attached is death upon the gallows, MARGARET was never arraigned, was not even saved from slavery for the gallows. Nor was this all. Some of Ohio's bravest sons suffered something akin to imprisonment for the wicked act of assisting a fellow-being to escape from bondage. So much for Republican Governors and their Messages; 'tis evident that to some other source the slave must look for redemption, and yet we know that redemption shall come.

Acknowledgments.

We gratefully acknowledge the following sums, to be devoted to the several purposes herein specified:

In aid of fugitives, the Edinburgh (New) A. S. Association sends.....	£5 0 0
To aid in the support and circulation of our weekly anti-slavery paper, the same society sends.....	0 0
Glasgow (New) A. S. Association, for the same.....	8 0 0

—Editor F. D. P.

Donations to the Treasury of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society.

Clogher A. S. Association.....	£10 0 0
Montrose do do	2 10 0
Derby do do	3 0 0
Friends in Bristol.....	1 8 0
Edinburgh Ladies' (New) Anti-Slavery Association.....	5 0 0
Glasgow (New) Anti-Slavery Association.....	5 0 0

MARIA G. PORTER, Treasurer.

ENGLISHMEN ON OUR INSTITUTIONS.—The Earl of Carlisle—better known as Lord Morpeth—is rather inclined to despair of our republic. His lordship, after reading, on a late occasion, his lecture on his "Travels in America," added a few extemporaneous remarks, to the effect that matters have rapidly grown much worse in this country since the time of his visit. He instances the following fearful catalogue of evils:

"The bickering animosity of classes; the jealousy and hatred of the respective geographical divisions; the spirit of self-seeking and corruption; the looseness and dishonesty of commercial operations; the high-handed ruffianism of the outlying districts; the lust of territorial aggrandizement; the disinclination of the more polished, refined, and upright portion of the citizens to take any part in public affairs; the absence of fair play in the deliberations of the Congress, and of dignity and independence on the judicial bench; but above all, the intensity and ferocity which gather around every face on the portentous question of slavery, appear to me to have assumed more terrifying, increasing, and menacing proportions."

The Savannah Republican says that the value of slaves may be found by ascertaining the price of cotton. For every cent a pound for cotton, a field hand will bring one hundred dollars. For instance, the present price of cotton is ten to twelve cents, and the price of a negro man is from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars.

A private dispatch from Charleston, S. C. says that the cases of the crew of the "Ketch Brothers," charged with slave trading, were taken up in the U. S. District Court on Tuesday, Jan. 11th, and the Grand Jury ignored the bills of indictment against them.

The Impending Crisis of the South.

The final abolition of American slavery is an event certain to take place. It may be hastened or retarded; but come it will, and come it must. In the system itself are the seeds of death. It lives only because the most favorable conditions exist. Remove these, and slavery must cease. One of these favorable conditions is the ignorance of its depressing effects upon the non-slaveholding part of the white people of the South. They are depressed, oppressed, robbed, despised, neglected, and stripped of all social and political power, and yet do not know why they are thus stricken and destitute. By the cunning of the slaveholders, the "poor white trash," (as the non-slaveholders are called,) are made to believe that the abolition of slavery would be to place the white laborer on a level with the negro. They will yet learn that such abolition would place the white laborer upon an equal footing with the slaveholder, and enable him to rise from his present ignorant and degraded condition to that of intelligence and respectability. The crafty appeals to the prejudices of the white laborer, against the black laborer, will lose their power to deceive in due time, and that prejudice, so long existing and augmenting, will one day find a new object upon which to discharge its terrors. A means to this desirable end has just now been started by such men as SAMUEL E. SEWALL and CASSIUS M. CLAY. These gentlemen propose to raise a fund by which one hundred thousand copies of the great work on slavery, by HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina, shall be published and put in circulation at the South.

This is decidedly one of the most hopeful signs which our times have disclosed relative to the matter of slavery. It is a practical demonstration against slavery, in which men of all shades of anti-slavery opinion can heartily engage. Let the money be raised, and the good work go forward. To vote against slavery and talk against slavery, are good things; but to give money to aid in spreading the truth broadcast over the land, is another good thing. And we know of no way in which our cause can just now be advanced, better than by carrying out the plan proposed by Mr. SEWALL and others.

The guilty slaveholders at the South, and their heartless defenders and apologists at the North, have been of late congratulating themselves upon the decline of the anti-slavery movement. The thought that they should soon be allowed to fall asleep and rest in ease and security on the subject of slavery, that the bondman should be henceforth allowed, all unheeded and uncared for, to writhe under the cruel lash, and to grope his dreary way from time to eternity, will be dispelled by this new movement. Poor, heart-broken, defenceless and bleeding bondman! God and nature are on your side; and though you suffer long, and see your little ones, and your wives, your sisters, your daughters, and your sons, bought and sold like the beasts of the field, your deliverance (despite of the iron hearted indifference of the American Church and the steady malignity of our government) will come at last.

Hon. Henry Wilson has been re-elected by the Massachusetts Legislature to his seat in the U. S. Senate. In the House he received 199 votes, to 25 for Caleb Cushing, and 11 scattering.

Underground Railroad.

The ladies of Syracuse and vicinity, deeply sympathizing with the fugitive slaves who are constantly arriving in our city from the land of their bondage, and wishing to share a part of this work with others, in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, and taking in the stranger; and as by common consent of the friends of liberty in our city and vicinity, the Rev. J. W. Loguen has been appointed to this work of Superintending the affairs of the Underground Railroad in this part of the State, and his house the Depot where he and his family have cared and found homes for between one and two hundred fugitives during the last year. To reward, in part, Mr. Loguen and his family for their services and sacrifices in behalf of said fugitives—acting the part of the good Samaritan to them—we do most respectfully invite the friends of religion and humanity to meet us at Convention Hall, on Tuesday, the 25th inst., from ten o'clock A. M. to 10 P. M., and on Wednesday, the 26th inst., in the afternoon and evening, at Mr. Loguen's house, 293 East Genesee street, there to make such donations in money, clothing, and provisions, as their services demand; and it will enable and encourage them in the good work of doing to others as we would like to be done by. There will be refreshments, and singing and speaking at the Hall of the very best kind.

By ORDER OF THE COM.

SYRACUSE, January 11, 1859.

On the 26th, at Mr. Loguen's house, there is expected to be present twenty fugitives who have been cared for by Mr. Loguen and family, that the friends may see what kind of persons they are helping.

EIGHTH ANNUAL FAIR OF THE ROCHESTER LADIES' A. S. SOCIETY.

ROCHESTER, Dec. 10th, 1858.

The ladies of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society would say to their friends, and the friends of the cause, that they propose holding their Eighth Annual Fair, commencing February 22d. To all the friends of the fugitive, and of the cause, they would appeal for sympathy and support. Give the cheer of your presence, and the aid of your purses, of your farms, of your stores! Our people are waking to the importance of the subject; they see the antagonism of the "free" principles and slavery "deeds" of our nation. Help us to sustain the Lecturer who calls them to action—the Press that labors for freedom! Help us to cheer the fugitive northward bound!

To those trans-Atlantic friends who have so long and so generously contributed of their money and labor, we would again appeal, SURE of their co-operation in the great work.

And may God speed the day, when there may be no more work for us to do!

C. E. MARSH, Pres't.

A. M. C. BARNES, Sec'y.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

SYRACUSE, Dec. 30, 1858.

DEAR DOUGLASS:—I wish to acknowledge through your paper the receipt of £5, which I have received from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Huddersfield, Eng., and also £1 12s 3d from the Barnsley Ladies' A. S. Society. In behalf of the travelers on the great New York Central Underground Railroad, I would thank these trans-Atlantic friends for their kind remembrance of our suffering people in this the land of our birth. These donations were sent to us through the kindness of that true friend to her enslaved sisters, Miss Julia Griffiths.—Long may they remember her for her repeated acts of friendship shown to them, both in this and the Old World! We would report the Syracuse section of the Underground Railroad in good running order, with a good double track.

Truly yours for the right,

J. W. LOGUEN, Agent

The Protestant Methodist Conferences of the free states, in their convention at Springfield Ohio, voted, with only two nays, to dissolve all official connection, co-operation and official fellowship with such churches and conferences as practice or tolerate slave-holding and slave-trading. Steps were taken for a union with the Wesleyans.

A NEGRO IN THE WOODPILE.—One day last week, three or four nice and gentlemanly looking gentlemen, came to our place and put up at the hotel. They were not long here until it leaked out, that one of them was the owner, or the agent of an owner, of some chattels, that were chopping wood on the farm of Mr. F. Hutchinson, two or three miles from this place; and, that the others were U. S. Marshals, from Cincinnati. They took with them, Mr. Charles Ringer, of this place, who is U. S. Deputy Marshal, for Lebanon, we believe, and left for the woods in which these chattels, two in number, were chopping wood; but before their arrival, by some unknown or underground medium, these chattels got wind of what was going on among the superior race, and came to the conclusion they would not be there to consult with Uncle Sam, and their Old Kentucky friend, as to whether they had or had not "rights which the white man ought to respect," and slightly shifted their position. On the arrival of the U. S. forces, they found one old darkey, who, it is said, "splained" to them the *modus operandi* of the whole matter, from the creation of the world, down to the present time, but any farther than this, they could not get him to go; and there the old fellow stands up to this day, and protests that what is to come in the future, no "libin" man can tell. It is supposed, though, by some of the knowing ones, that the two boys, (for these chattels were boys, about 15 and 20 years of age, with one shade of coloring matter in their composition,) had taken the ears on the underground Railroad, for Queen Victoria's dominions; but it is not those who let on to know every thing who are omniscient. Some think they are still in Warren County, but, we presume, they know about as much as the others, and no more. Our citizens generally have acted the wise part in the matter, and know nothing about it. It is a great pity the Kentucky gentleman has lost so much *chattel property*, but what is one man's loss is another man's gain, especially in this matter of *human liberty*.

The U. S. forces have been chiefly withdrawn from this field, and our citizens have returned to their daily avocations again, as though no important event had come to pass. It is said these boys were not slaves, but it was an attempt to reduce them to slavery.—Of the truth of this, of course, we know nothing. We give the rumors as they came to us.—Lebanon (Ohio) Star.

MISTAKING A BLACK REPUBLICAN FOR A RED REPUBLICAN.—The Paris correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* gives an amusing account of the arrest of Mr. William Lee, of Boston. He was walking in the garden of the Tuileries, when he was seized by two secret policemen and taken before the Commissary of Police. The correspondent writes:

"Mr. Lee explained to the Commissary whom he was, and showed him his passport (which he fortunately had in his pocket.) The scene changed instantly. The Commissary of Police asked him ten thousand pardons for the inconvenience to which he had been subjected, and hoped he would forgive the stupidity of the policemen. The Commissary soundly rated the officers. He told Mr. Lee they were charged to arrest an Italian, a Red Republican, who was supposed to be lurking in Paris with intent to assassinate Louis Napoleon, 'and I am sure,' added the Commissary with a smile, 'that you are no Red Republican.' 'No,' said Mr. Lee, 'I am a Black Republican.' 'Voyez vous!' exclaimed the Commissary, turning to the policemen, who looked as though they wished they could creep into some hole. 'C'est un negre des Etats Unis!' 'He is a negro from the United States!'"

A letter from Rome in the *Independence of Brussels* states that a translation of Uncle Tom's Cabin has just been published in that city, but that the Protestant sentiments expressed in the work have been changed into Romish ones.—Thus the reason assigned for the cruel whipping of Tom by the ferocious Legree is, that Tom believed in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception!

The Peculiar Institution--A Man Sells his own Daughter.

The peculiar horrors of the system of American slavery but seldom come to the knowledge of the people of the North. We read in Southern papers of sales of negroes, and the prices at which they were knocked down, but none can know the misery and anguish that attends these every day occurrences. A moving incident came to the knowledge of the *Bucyrus (Ohio) Journal* last week, which we lay before our readers. Names are suppressed for reasons obvious to every one.

Near Louisville, Kentucky, lives a planter of wealth and standing. He was the possessor of a hundred negroes, and he was noted for his thrifty, money-making disposition. He had never been married, and was an incorrigible bachelor of fifty. His house was managed by a young lady of about twenty, his daughter by a quadroon whose complexion was lighter by half than his—and in whom the negro blood was scarcely visible. The mother died ten years ago, leaving her daughter with its father's solemn promise that she should be educated and should live as a free woman, rather than as a slave, and that she should pass as his daughter, as she was. The planter gave this promise because he had been really attached to the dying woman and his beautiful child. And so she grew up, radiantly beautiful—receiving a reasonable education, all that her father could give her, and in time took the management of his household. She never knew that there was any negro blood in her veins, and never dreamed that she was a slave.

Last fall a series of misfortunes overtook the planter. His house burned down and in it the notes, books and papers that composed a large portion of his fortune. His crops failed to a great degree, and some heavy speculations in which he was engaged resulted disastrously. Added to all this, he had lost heavily at play, the besetting sin of Southern gentlemen, and had completely exhausted all his ready means, and found himself in the terrible situation of having more money to pay than he could possibly raise in a given time.

He applied to his Attorney for counsel in his extremity. The Attorney after examining the situation of his affairs, advised him to sell off a portion of his negroes. The planter objected strenuously, first objecting to the sale of negroes, and secondly that his force was barely sufficient to work his plantation. But after full deliberation he found this to be the only alternative, and sorrowfully consented.—A list was made out, and every head that could be possibly spared was put down. After all was done, and the most favorable prices charged for them, the aggregate fell five thousand dollars short of the sum.

The Attorney remarked quietly that he had not included all that could be spared.

"I have put down all I can dispense with," replied the planter.

"I do not see Mary, the housekeeper's name in the list," replied the lawyer. "She, if offered to the right person, would make up the deficiency. I would give that for her myself."

At any other time the planter would have taken the suggestion as an insult, but necessity is a hard master, and he grasped at the idea, and before an hour the transaction was closed. It troubled him not a little to disclose the matter to her, but the fear of bankruptcy and ruin drove him to it. The poor girl's horror and distress may be imagined. She had known nothing but happiness, and now was to be plunged into the deepest and most hopeless misery. She had been sold, and was then the property, soul and body, of one who purchased her misery for the gratification of his beastly lusts. The idea was too horrible, and she swooned, remaining almost delirious for several days.

There was another upon whom the intelligence came with crushing weight. A junior partner in a produce house in Louisville had

frequently visited the planter's house on business, and, struck with the beauty and intelligence of the supposed daughter, had become enamored, and after prosecuting his suit, at a proper time he declared his passion, and unknown to the father, the two had betrothed themselves. As soon as possible, after her father had told her fate, she dispatched a messenger to him, stating the facts, and imploring him to save her from the doom that awaited her. Though thunderstruck at the intelligence that his affianced bride was a slave, and had just been sold to a fate worse than death, like a true man he determined to rescue her.—That night he saw her, and a plan was formed for flight.

The day she was transferred to the possession of her purchaser, they fled, and in due time arrived at Cincinnati, where they were married. Our hero obtained an interview with one of the agents of the Underground Railroad located in that city, who immediately telegraphed intelligence to the different agents along the line to keep strict watch, and if woman catchers were on the watch, at any point, to telegraph back, and give the fugitives timely notice, that they might leave the train.—Accordingly they started, purchasing tickets for Crestline.

In the mean time the lawyer, as soon as he discovered his loss, had commenced active measures to recover it. He had no difficulty in tracing them to Cincinnati, and none whatever in ascertaining that their destination was Crestline. But having arrived several hours after their departure, he was obliged to content himself with telegraphing to Crestline to the proper officers to arrest them at that place. But unfortunately for his prospects, the intended arrest got wind, and when the train reached Galion, two citizens of that place stepped into the car, and a conversation of a few moments ensued, in the lowest kind of whispers, at the close of which the four left the car. A carriage was in waiting, and in two hours the fair fugitive and her husband were domiciled in the house of one of our whole-souled farmers, near Bucyrus, who has long taken pleasure in helping fugitives on their way to the Canadian Canaan.

When the train on which they embarked reached Crestline, the officials were unutterably chagrined at not finding the fugitives, and more so when they learned that she had been within four miles of them.

After a lapse of two weeks they ventured a move, and went to Detroit by the way of Sandusky city, and without accident reached the Canadian shore. They are now residing in Toronto.

Old School D. D.'s. and Slavery.**DRE. ARMSTRONG AND VANRENSSELAER.**

We are pleased to find such minds as these bringing before the public such able discussions on the vexed question, as are found in late numbers of the *Presbyterian Magazine*. Dr. V. was drawn into the discussion by receiving from Dr. A. his book on "The Christian Doctrine of Slavery," for review in the *Presbyterian Magazine*, of which he is editor. The December number contains an article of twenty-five pages, on "Emancipation and the Church," which is the twelfth discussion regarding Dr. A.'s book. These are omens that the O. S. General Assembly will not be able to nationalize silence everywhere, and especially in its own churches.

Rev. Dr. Vanrensselaer, in his late rejoinder to Dr. Armstrong, enumerates the following popular errors in regard to Slavery:

It is a mistake to suppose that the slaves have not a natural desire for freedom, however erroneous may be their views of freedom. There are certain natural impulses which belong to man by the Constitution of his being. No slavery can quench the aspirations for liberty. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot rend. It is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.

It is a mistake to suppose that slaves pos-

sess no natural rights. Your remarks that slavery secures to the slaves the right to labor in a better way "than it is secured to a more elevated race of laborers in Europe, under any of the systems which prevail among the civilized nations of the Old World," will hardly be received by autocrats and despots as a plea for reviving slavery on the continent. Indeed, the new emperor Alexander, of Russia, is engaged, at this very time, in the great work of doing homage to Christian civilization, by emancipating all the serfs of the empire.

Another error consists in regarding the Africans as an inferior race, fit only to be slaves. Infidelity, as you are aware, has been active at the South in inducing the belief that the negro belongs to an inferior, if not a distinct race. This doctrine is the only foundation of perpetual slavery. It is alike hostile to emancipation, and injurious to all efforts to elevate the negro to his true position, as a fellow-man and an immortal. The slaves belong to Adam's race; are by nature under the wrath and curse, even as others; subjects of the same promises; partakers of the same blessings in Jesus Christ, and heirs of the same eternal inheritance. How the last great day will dissipate unsound and inhuman prejudices against these children of the common brotherhood!

It is an error to suppose that the African slave-trade ought to be revived. Among all the popular errors of the day, this is the most mischievous and wicked. God denounces the traffic in human flesh and blood. It has the taint of murder. Our national legislation righteously classes it with piracy, and condemns its abettors to the gallows. And yet in Conventions and Legislatures of a number of the slaveholding States, the revival of the African slave-trade meets with favor. This fact is an ominous proof of the demoralization of public sentiment under the influence and operation of a system of slavery.

Another error is, that slavery is a permanent institution. Slavery in the United States must come to an end. Christianity is arraying the public opinion of the world against it. The religion of Jesus Christ never has, and never can countenance the perpetuity of human bondage. The very soil of the planting States, which is growing poorer and poorer every year, refuses to support slavery in the long run. Its impoverished fields are not often renovated, and the system must in time die the death of its own sluggish doom. Besides, the competition of free labor must add to the embarrassments of slavery.—*Christian Press*.

WM. J. WATKINS AT ALBANY.—Mr. Watkins, a colored man, gave an interesting lecture at the Assembly Chamber last evening on the subject of an amendment to the State Constitution abolishing the property qualification as a condition of suffrage to the colored citizens of the State. The Hall was well filled, and the lecture, which was remarkable for its force and brilliancy, was frequently interrupted by the hearty applause of the audience. Mr. Watkins opened his lecture by some well-timed remarks on the subject of Slavery generally; criticised the Dred Scott decision, in which he proved conclusively that whatever may be said of Justice Taney's law, he was certainly very wide of the mark in his facts of history. He then proceeded to discuss the question of a change in the Constitution, abolishing negro property qualification, and made a strong argument, which convinced all but the willfully blind that justice and expediency alike demand the proposed change.—*Cor. N. Y. Tribune*.

A call has been issued by several prominent gentlemen of New York, Brooklyn, Albany and other places, inviting all citizens of this State, favorable to the extinction of slavery by a fair and honorable compensation to the slaveholding States, out of the National Treasury or Public Domain, for the manumission of their slaves, to meet in Convention, personally or by delegation, at Albany, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Jan. 25th and 26th, for the purpose of promoting the movement for removing the great evil from the land by this generous and peaceful mode.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD.

NUMBER LXII.

THICK HOLLINS, near Huddersfield, {
November 17th, 1858. }

MY DEAR FRIEND :—I greatly enjoyed a visit to this interesting place early last spring, and had fully purposed to give you some account of it, but as my long illness came on soon after I quitted Yorkshire, and compelled me to abstain for many weeks from writing, I never carried out my intention of telling you something of *Meltham Cotton Mills*, and what I saw and heard there; but now, that I find myself once again a guest at beautiful *Thick Hollins*, looking out, not only on the adjacent wooded uplands, and rich valleys, but on the lengthy range of buildings which spread themselves along the hollow, to the left, I am resolved, without delay, to jot down a few things about *Brook's Cotton Mills* that may prove interesting to you, and to some of your readers, in a day when *Cotton* is peculiarly talked of and thought of, not only by manufacturers and philanthropists, but by missionaries and travelers in many lands. I have had my share of thought about *Cotton*, (and I may add, my share of lectures, too, on *Cotton*.) I believe that some of my friends have made the great mistake of supposing that, because I could not see my way to bring the subject of *Cotton*, and the duty of Abolitionists using only *Free Labor Cotton*, before every anti-slavery committee I have had the pleasure of forming, or meeting, my Abolitionism was of a *very neutral tint* indeed! Be that as it may, I am satisfied that, to endeavor strictly to follow the dictates of our own conscience in this and similar matters, and to permit our friends to do the same, according to them the grace of *Sincerity*, as we claim it for ourselves, is the true Christian course. While frowned on by a few, on this Free Labor subject, I was, at divers times, smiled at by some manufacturers, to whom I spoke on this difficult question, and who told me strange and sad tales in regard to impositions in *Cotton*, and more and more, convinced me that to confine our clothing apparel to articles, fabricated out of *silk, wool, or linen*, was the only plan to ensure its not being "*slave grown produce*" under the present dispensation. Not seeing a *practical* way to work in this matter, I have bided my time, doing other anti-slavery work, about which there exists no practical difficulty. Now, I trust, we are beginning to see the glimmering of the dawn of a brighter day for Africa, and her sable sons; and if the belief of that great and enterprising man, Dr. Livingstone, (expressed in a recent letter to the Bishop of Oxford,) be correct, that he has discovered in Africa a great tract of land, peculiarly suitable for the growth of the far-famed "*Sea Island Cotton*," it seems to me that *one part* of a very difficult problem is in a fair way of being solved, and we may hope that the rest will follow in time.

But I am wandering away to the land where "*sunny fountains roll down their golden sand*," and must at once return and take you with me to *Meltham Mills*.

These mills (called by some the model mills of Yorkshire) are five miles distant from the cheerful, busy, manufacturing town of Huddersfield; the drive is a fine one, even in winter, up hill all the way. The mills stand in

a valley at the foot of what are called the *Backbone* mountains of England. The village of Meltham lies half a mile higher up, upon the edge of the wild moorland country, which extends, with but slight interruption, into North Britain. Nearly all the population of Meltham and its environs are employed at the cotton or silk mills of Messrs. Brook; and when we are told that all the region round about has been reclaimed within the last sixty years, we are almost disposed to feel, as we look on the scene of industry and activity before us, that there is nothing which the indomitable mind of man cannot achieve, by enterprise and labor, with the blessing of God on his labors.

But here we are at the comfortable Counting-House of Meltham Mills, at the door of which our carriage draws up, (after a short and pretty drive from Thick Hollins,) and we alight. Soon a table is covered with specimens of Cotton, and with their usual kindness, Mr. Charles Brook, and Mr. Carlisle are giving me my second lesson on Cotton, (I had my first in the spring,) and replying to my innumerable questions with inexhaustible patience. Here are three kinds of Egyptian cotton grown by the Pasha, (*free grown we all hope!*) the finest of these is soft and silky; it is a good length in the fibre, and looks very free from dirt. The other two specimens are not so fine, nor so clean. I learn that the Egyptian cotton varies greatly in quality, the best growing near the sea coast; it averages from 7d, to 1s 1d per lb. Messrs. Brook purchase as much as they can obtain of this cotton, because it answers their purpose for making thread; it is never spun by itself, but mixed with sea island cotton, or New Orleans cotton or any other kind of cotton which will unite to form the *best possible* thread, which is, of course, the *main* object of the manufacturer. But here is a finer, softer, whiter, and more silky cotton before me; whence comes it?—From the seaboard slave States. It is the famous "*Sea Island Cotton*." Thousands of poor slaves have toiled away under burning suns, to produce this clean, white cotton, and scores have died martyrs to it! The price is high, averaging from 1s 1d, to 2s 6d per lb.—It is adapted for spinning the finest numbers of thread, and at present no other cotton can be found to supply its place. It grows near the sea, on the Atlantic coast of the Carolinas and Georgia, in marshy land, often inundated with water, and in an atmosphere so unhealthy that *white* people cannot live more than half the year there! so a Charleston merchant recently told one of my friends.—What is the *average* life of the slaves there, I did not learn! Now, if what Dr. Livingstone says be true, and he has found a spot in Africa favorable to the growth of this valuable cotton, I trust that some of our princely merchants and manufacturers will unite and form a company that shall supply capital, and employ agents to sow and cultivate *Sea Island Cotton* amidst the marshes of Africa.—But here is another cotton, darker, dirtier, and not so soft. This is from New Orleans; and in thought, (as I hold a little piece of it in my hand,) I am carried to the vast cotton fields of the West, and am wondering what is the sad history of the poor slave man or woman that picked this small tuft of cotton? Is he (or she) living or dead?—still in existence, toiling on, on, on, beneath the lash, with

no ray of hope to brighten his or her path—or gone to that land "where the servant is freed from his master," "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest," and "where the voice of the oppressor is not heard?" If it be as I am told, that for every pound of Sea Island Cotton imported annually into Liverpool, there is, at least, *one hundred pounds* of New Orleans cotton, of *how many* victimized slaves is the universally used New Orleans cotton the sole remains!—It is fearful to think of it! The average price of this cotton is from 5½d to 9d. Messrs. Brook do not use large quantities of Orleans cotton, it not being sufficiently fine for their use. I hope and believe that you and I may be spared to see the day when cotton will be grown, both in India and in Africa, equal in quality to this cotton, and sufficient in quantity to compete with it, and *if need be*, supply its place in the Liverpool market. I am rejoiced to learn of the various companies forming to aid in the growth of cotton in Asia and Africa; and greatly do I regret that severe influenza prevents me now from accepting the kind proposal of one of my friends here, to take me with him to Manchester, and introduce me to Mr. Thomas Clegg, of whom I have heard so much, and with whom, if I mistake not, you have had some correspondence. I wish to learn his views from himself. I have been favored with the sight of a correspondence between Dr. Delany & Co., and Mr. Clegg. I have carefully read that able article in the last *Edinburgh Journal*, (July—October,) "The Slave Trade—1858." I have perused your criticism on our excellent friend, Mr. Benjamin Coates' recent Cotton Publication; and I arrive at this conclusion, that while I believe the well being of Africa, and of the native Africans, will be greatly advanced by the cultivation of cotton there, and the consequent wide spread commercial enterprise; and while I also believe that when the day arrives in which African cotton comes into the Liverpool market, sufficient in quantity to vie with New Orleans cotton, and fine enough to compete with sea island cotton, a great blow will be aimed at *one section* of American slavery; I do not, and cannot take the narrow view that this cotton is the *one sole* foundation of slavery, and that, if this is withdrawn, *slavery must fall*. There are startling revelations made in the article in "*the Edinburgh*," and much food for painful thought. God grant that the day may not come when the American slaves of the Mississippi are found toiling beneath the lash, on the banks of the Niger or the Gambia! As for our free colored friends, most deeply do I deplore their folly in being led away by any African *schemes* whatsoever, from their native country, *the United States*. I have, more than once, heard him who is called by many "the noblest Roman of them all," say, that he will never quit America, and take up his permanent residence in another country, while his brothers and sisters remain in the Southern prison-house. Would that *every free* colored man in the United States could be made to feel how great are his responsibilities, and how much may depend on his individual exertion. He is, it is true, the victim of prejudice, where he is; but every McCune Smith, Reason, Gaines, Downing, Beman, Whipper, Langston, Garnet, and Douglass is doing his part towards surmounting this cruel prejudice. Were each of these men

multiplied a thousand fold, and scattered up and down the States, I am inclined to think there would be small prejudice left. I feel convinced that the destinies of the American slave, and of his *free colored* brother, are inextricably connected. They must stand or fall together. I wish, with all my heart, that the noble Livingstone had had time (before his return to the land of his adoption) to visit the States, and fully to study the subject of American slavery, *possibly*, then, he might have arrived at the conclusion that it would have been far better for the American slaves that cotton should be uncultivated in Africa, than that their free colored brethren should go forth to till the ground, and grow cotton in that far off land, resigning forever, without effort or struggle, the poor Southern prisoners to chains and slavery. No, dear colored friends! STAY WHERE YOU ARE! leave to others the great work of the civilization and evangelization of distant Africa, and work hard wherever your present post happens to be. Time is short.

"be up and doing
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait."

This is a long digression, but I return to Meltham Mills, and will take you rapidly with me through some of the rooms in this extremely interesting establishment. After looking at the Cotton Store, in which are many bales of cotton, brought together from many parts of the world, we come to the first cleaning-room, in which is a curious machine, which men and boys are feeding with the dirty cotton we have just seen. The cotton is opened up, partially freed from its encumbrances, rapidly carried forward to another roller, cleaned further, driven into a great basket, and hurried off to the next department of cleaning. The room (strange to say) is free from dust, in consequence of the successful working of a very ingenious contrivance which carries up the dirt from the machine into a cylinder placed in the roof. In olden times cotton dressing was a most unhealthy employment. Next come we to the second department of cleaning—then to the third, where the *blowing machine* is, around which are men busily employed. When next we see the cotton, it is freed from most of the dross, and is in the form of a web, wrapped round a roller. These rollers are carried off to another wonderful machine, and thence, even, smooth and white, they are taken to the *carding room*. What a wondrous sight bursts upon us as we enter the carding room! This room runs the whole length of the building, and is full of wondrous machinery. Perpetual sound! incessant motion! and yet perfect order! Hundreds of hands (most of them girls) are busily engaged here in watching and feeding the machinery, and joining the broken ends of cotton. The wonders of the carding room seem to run endless; and as I try to understand respectively the *breaker*, the *lap machine*, the *finisher*, and the *drawing frame*, I am too much amazed and bewildered clearly to comprehend what I am told, that, in passing through all these, the cotton has been doubled 186,624 times, and yet it is of the same weight and thickness it was at the commencement of the (almost) miraculous process! A little time ago the cotton looked rough and coarse, now it assumes a silky hue, and lies smooth and straight on the cards. But it must

be drawn much finer, and means must be used to make it hold together, so, it is carried to the *slubbing machine*, and here another world of wonders opens up before me, as I look at "flyers" "roving," and "bobbins," and am told that the roving of this bobbin has been doubled 746,496 times since it left the bag, and yet it is eight times smaller than when it left the cards! A little time since, there were one hundred yards to the pound; now there are 840 yards to one pound! The bobbins are next carried to another machine, finer and smaller in its parts, then to another and still another, until, by the time they have passed through the last machine in the carding room, every pound is made into thirty hanks, containing 25,200 yards of roving, which has been doubled 3,981,312 times! Next we come to the spinning room, and find ourselves surrounded by spinning-jennies. The *self-acting spinning-jenny* is one of the greatest wonders here; it is at full work, with no one to help it; it is never tired, and never makes a mistake! and no manual labor can compete with it for exactness. Here the yarn is spun, and twisted, and rolled on the spindle—then it is carried away to another part of the works and undergoes some process of steaming; next, by never ceasing machinery, the yarn is turned into thread, and we are looking at many hundreds of spindles, superintended by nice, healthy looking, well dressed girls. Then we are shown the *reeling room*, where the thread is made into *hanks*; and now we come to the bleaching works, whence, after passing through several processes, and being subjected to *hydraulic pressure*, it is carried to the *stove*, where you see it hanging upon poles to dry, looking literally "white as snow."—But the cotton is not yet quite completed; it is again taken to the mills, and regularly ironed by machinery. In this department a great many girls are engaged, and hank after hank is drawn forth, straight and glossy; then it is separated into small parcels, neatly doubled up, tied and labelled. In the same large room a number of women and girls are winding the thread upon the spools, or reels, and a very pretty sight it is to watch their busy fingers, moving so rapidly, yet so steadily. Then a man is constantly patrolling this room with a *measuring* machine, to see that the proper number of yards is on each reel, and a "NOTICE" is conspicuous on the walls, threatening to fine *winders* who are careless as to the quantity of thread they put on the spools. Those who purchase "BROOK'S THREAD" may therefore be sure of *full measure*, and I am inclined to believe of an excellent sewing cotton. Time fails me to tell of the bobbin department, where one man and one machine make a thousand reels (or bobbins) in an hour. The general aspect of the people employed in Meltham Mills is most pleasing, and satisfactory. The men, women and girls look healthy, neat and clean. Everything possible is done to secure good ventilation to the rooms, and the comfort of those who are employed. Improvements are constantly going on; a fine new building is being erected, which will contain a spacious dining hall for the work people, and a lecture or concert room for their use. They possess a band of musicians of their own, and a fire company also. A pretty little church, founded and endowed by C. J. BROOK, Esq., (deceased,) one of the best of men, meets your view as you enter the village; near to it

stands a neat-looking parsonage-house, and not far off is a fine village school-house, where the children of the mills are educated, and where every attention is paid to their moral and religious culture. The Rev. Mr. INCE, the incumbent of Meltham Mills, is one of the most thoroughly Christian pastors it has ever been my privilege to converse with. One day in each week he pays a visit to the mills, and delivers an address to such of the people as like to hear him. There is no compulsion in the matter. Mr. Charles Brook (the leading proprietor) has just erected a number of pretty, new cottages for the work people, and now he is laying out a park for their benefit. The responsibilities involved by those who (humanly speaking) hold the destinies of so many of their fellow-beings in their hands, are, doubtless, very great; yet, when we see great wealth commanded, rightly employed, and widely diffused, as it is by such truly benevolent and Christian men as the Brooks, the Crosleys, and Mr. Edward Akroyd, we feel that they are at once a blessing to their people, their country, and themselves, and we pray that they may long be spared to pursue their labors of love, and to carry out the many projects they are devising for the temporal comfort and eternal welfare of the thousands committed to their care.

I shall ever think of my several visits to my kind friends at Thick Hollins, with intense interest, and ever wish great prosperity to Meltham Mills, and its large and cheerful community.

This is but November; yet, as I suppose my letter will not appear before the January number of your *Monthly* makes its advent, I must thus early send the New Year's greeting to my trans-Atlantic friends, expressing at the same time, my gratification that they take a continuous interest in my "Pencillings by the Way," and giving them my promise to do my best, during the year opening before us—that is, if health and strength be vouchsafed to me by the all wise Disposer of events.

As ever, yours most truly,
JULIA GRIFFITHS.

WHO ARE ORPHANS?—A controversy has sprung up in Philadelphia in regard to the sense in which the term *orphan* is used by Stephen Girard, in his will founding Girard College. The Old Board of Trustees, after an elaborate examination of authorities, decided that the term *orphan* meant a fatherless child. The trust has been managed some years on that construction; but new lords, new laws. The new Board, in June last, decided that an orphan must have lost *both* his parents to entitle him to admission to the College. The will of Girard had decided that a preference should be given to orphans born in the city of Philadelphia. Both these facts were united in the case of James Soham, and on his rejection by the Board a bill was filed in the Supreme Court, and heard before Judge Read on Monday last. Judge Read, after hearing an elaborate argument, with numerous authorities from the Bible, Shakespeare, and about a dozen of dictionaries, decided both points in favor of the applicant. A child whose father alone is dead is an orphan, as well as when both parents are dead.

The New Orleans Delta contains an article attacking Hiram Powers, whom it accuses of being a "violent Abolitionist." The Delta has a correspondent who is solicitous to be informed whether Powers, the Abolitionist, has received an order from Government to execute two statues at \$10,000 each. It is quite certain, in this connection, that if Government never employs a great artist until it finds one who is a partisan of slavery, that it will never employ one at all.

CIVILIZATION :
Its Dependence on Physical Circumstances.

BY JAMES McCUNE SMITH.

[From the Anglo-African Magazine.]
"A full development of the reasoning faculty can only take place where physical circumstances conspire. It is to the climate of England and France that the human race is indebted for the intellect of Newton and Laplace."—DR. DRAKE : *Chemistry of Plants*, p. 12.

An investigation of the physical circumstances that have contributed to civilization, is a matter of importance in at least two points of view. First, an analysis of these circumstances will tend to decide whether human advancement be the result of the innate superiority of any portion of the human race, or whether it result from adventitious phenomena; and secondly, the same analysis may reduce civilization to the condition of a science, a successful cultivation of which will rapidly promote human progress.

In the hope of attracting attention to this important investigation, the following views are respectfully submitted.

The essential condition of civilization is expressed in the etymology of the word, which is derived from *civis*, *co-i-vis*, "coming together" "*in un m co euntes vivunt*." Not only is the dwelling and assembling together of men an essential condition of civilization, but, the more men mingle, the larger the dwelling together, the greater is their advancement: and whatever has prevented men from coming together, whether self-imposed laws, difference of language, climate, or geographical position, these have and do constitute barriers against civilization; and in proportion as these barriers have been broken down, mankind have advanced.

Climate, and geographical position being the prominent physical phenomena which affect civilization, we will look into their influences; beginning with

CLIMATE.

Extreme climates are not distinguished as the centres of civilization. In Russia as well as India, civilization is an exotic; but why? The reason may be found in the physical organization of mankind. The independent temperature of the human body is about 98° Fahrenheit: this temperature is maintained in the human being by the combustion which results from the process of breathing. By each breath we draw, the blood in our lungs is raised two degrees in temperature: and as all the blood in the body passes through the lungs once in every three minutes, the heat lost in the circulation of the blood through the body, is constantly replaced by the combustion in the lungs. This combustion is rapid, or slow, in proportion as the air around the body is colder, or warmer than the independent temperature of the body.

An excessively rapid, or slow combustion, are alike unfavorable to the physical development of the human frame. In a climate where the air is at the temperature of zero, there is a difference of 98° between the heat of the air and that of the human body exposed to it: and, in order that man may live in such climate, he must develop a very large quantity of heat by proportionate rapidity of combustion in his lungs. In order to support such combustion, the blood must be furnished with a large proportion of carbon; the food must be large in quantity and coarse and oily in quality: even then, so much of the blood is consumed in respiration, that too little is left for the full development of the human frame: hence the huge appetites and small stature of the hyperborean races.

Hence also, an excessively cold climate, by arresting the full development of the human frame, also arrests the full development of the physical strength in man, an element necessary to civilization.

Other facts must be taken into the account. M. Quetelet has shown that the power of the human frame to resist cold, is greatest, at the age of 17 years: after which age, the frame is less and less able to endure an extremely cold temperature. The same writer has demon-

strated, that in man the maximum of physical strength (and of the passions) occurs at 25 years of age; whilst the maximum of intellectual power does not occur until after the 30th and 35th year of age.

From these facts it follows that a people, advancing in civilization, require to be in force, in other words, require a large proportion of their number to be in full health and development at 25 years of age, for physical strength; and a large proportion in full development at from 35 to 50 years of age for intellectual power.

In extremely cold climates, the mass of the population are cut off before reaching twenty-five years of age—and hence do not reach the maximum of physical nor intellectual power. And those who do reach these maxima, having already passed the age when they best endure rigor of climate, are more and more depressed by this last element, which they are less able to bear up against, every year they reach beyond seventeen.* Besides, this imperfect development occurs in a region where nature offers the most formidable physical barriers to civilization. And these facts, together, afford ample reason why excessively cold climates have not been the centres from which have radiated human civilization.

In extremely cold climates, the independent heat of the human body is maintained by a rapid combustion, or consumption of the particles of which the body is composed (all which particles are held in solution by the venous blood as it passes through the lungs:) and this rapid combustion is owing to the necessity of maintaining the independent heat of the body, when there is a great difference between that heat, and the temperature of the surrounding air. Starting from this great difference, we arrive at a point in temperature or climate, where there is less difference between the climate temperature and the independent heat of the human body; here, the combustion will be slower, the consumption of particles less rapid, and the development of physical power will also be relatively greater. Keeping on in the same direction we arrive at another point in temperature, which exactly coincides with the independent heat of the human body. In this last instance combustion (by respiration) will almost entirely cease, or will raise the blood two degrees above the natural standard (fever.) We have only to do with the former alternative. Combustion almost ceasing, there will occur no change in the blood: the particles which should have been thrown off by respiration, remain, and the unchanged blood, loaded with these effete particles, steadily depresses physical vigor.

Nature has partially provided against this high temperature, in granting to the people of the tropics a skin which contains an elaborate refrigerator: for, the carbon or charcoal placed immediately beneath the cuticle in the dark complexioned portion of mankind is a non conductor, which isolates the temperature of the body from that of the surrounding hot air.—The temperature of the blood of the body, thus kept low until it enters the lungs, can be raised in the lungs by respiration: hence combustion measurably occurs; the effete particles are thrown off; the blood undergoes the requisite change; and physical vigor is to some extent developed.

Notwithstanding this provision, it is not possible that the intertropical races can have a physical vigor and development equal to those who dwell in a more temperate climate; First, because the air in the tropics for the most

* This accounts for an apparent anomaly. An Englishman, who has reached full physical development in the mild climate of Britain, can brave the climate of Moscow with one half the clothing required by a native: because the latter has never reached the development enjoyed by the former.

+ Although during some days in habitable places, the thermometer continues above 130 deg. Fahr., no portion of the human race could endure this heat for a length of time. The highest mean annual temperature recorded is 87 deg., and the hottest month 91 deg., at Massaona in Abyssinia. Even during the hottest month, the mean temperature was 7 deg. lower than that of the human body.

part, contains more vapor of water, and consequently less oxygen, than the air of the temperate regions: and as oxygen is the cause of combustion in the lungs, the smaller proportion of oxygen is accompanied by a less rapid combustion; and a smaller development of physical strength. Hence, the dark races in hot climates have flattened chests, from the relatively less exercise or expansion of their lungs in breathing.

Secondly, the dark races of the tropics gain in physical development when transported to a temperate climate. The colored population, enslaved and free, of Maryland and Virginia, are the descendants of those who, from 50 to 200 years ago, were removed from the African coast. This Afric-American race, are not only far superior, in physical symmetry and development, to the pure African now found on the coast, but actually equal in these respects the white race of the Old Dominion, who have never lived in any but a temperate climate. Facts indicate, further, that the excessively hot climate is more favorable to physical development, than an excessively cold climate.—Having considered the extreme climates, return for a moment to the mean or temperate zone. Blessed with a climate neither too near, nor too far removed from, the independent temperature of the human body, the people of the middle latitudes enjoy the happy mean wherein respiration performs its functions with a well balanced relation to the ends which they subserve: there results a combustion sufficient to carry off the effete particles from the blood, and which leaves the same sufficiently enriched for a full and harmonious development of a vigorous physical frame.

But, what has physical development to do with civilization? It is true that civilization has originated, and made the greatest advances in the climate which produces the greatest physical vigor in mankind: but this may be mere coincidence, or may result from innate superiority in the races living in said climate. It is even a prevalent opinion that physical strength is a matter so distinct from and independent of intellectual power, that the presence of the one implies the absence of the other: thews and sinews; the bone and muscle of a country are abstractly regarded widely as distinct from the thought of that country. The views, however, are based upon insufficient grounds, upon exception rather than general laws. "The pale cast of thought," the attenuated student, and the proverbial ill-health of men devoted to study—all effects of the excessive wear of robust frames, are assumed to be the causes of superior intellectual power

An investigation of the personnel of men of powerful mind shows them, generally, possessed of great physical vigor. Carlyle somewhere exclaims with huge delight that Shakespeare could have "struck a right good blow:" and gathers this from the style of Shakespeare.—Burns, Scott, Wilson, Macaulay, Berzelius, Davy, Cuvier and our Webster, are a few among thousand of instances. Writers of fiction—Bulwer, for example in *Eugene Aram*—simply interpret nature when they endow their pale slender, intellectual heroes with marvelous physical energy. Dr. Metcalfe, in his great work on Caloric, shows exclusively that without a full supply of healthy blood to the brain, the mind cannot be vigorous: and, that in small men, of powerful mind, there will always be found a capacious pair of lungs, producing great physical vigor, as well as the necessary supply of healthy blood. Indeed, a necessary condition, for long continued mental application, is a vigorous physical frame, for, without such frame or constitution, the body would not be able to endure the wear and tear of hard study.

In this connection, the observations, or rather experiments of M. Peron, quoted by Quetelet, are curious and instructive. M. Peron, by means of a dynameter, measured the strength of many persons of the following nations, with the following results:

New Hollanders [savage].....	14.8
Malays of Timor.....	16.8
French sailors.....	22.1

(ON MAN, p. 68.)

In this comparison the intellectual keeps parallel with the physical strength. Weakest of all, is the New Hollander, the most debased savage on the face of the globe : next comes the Malay, of, doubtless, Indian origin, and endowed with some advances beyond barbarism : strongest of all, by a proportion three times greater than separates the other two are the French sailors, by far the most advanced in civilization and intellectual power.

And furthermore, if we look at the sources whence nations, advanced in civilization, draw their intellectual power, these sources will be found to spring from the common people—the physically vigorous. England has drawn far more of her intellectual glory from those who win their bread by the sweat of their brows, than from those whose foreheads are gilded by the coronet. The people, we contend are the source of intellectual as well as of political power ; they are not only the bone and sinew, but also the heart and brain of a nation. Each blow of the hammer, each strain of the muscle, every effort of the body, *made with a will*, stirs anew the current of life, which is also the current of thought, and the soul freshens and grows stronger : hence new thought, the thought of progress, the stirrer-up of true civilization, always springs from the people,—conservatism, from the slower current of the Aristocracy. A people, therefore, whose "common destiny" is "labor," is of necessity destined to advance civilization.

In these remarks, we speak of man, not the individual, but in the aggregate. Take one hundred thousand men in a given portion of the globe, and another hundred thousand in another, and differently climated portion of the earth. Obtain the average strength of each party ; and it will be found that the party which produces the greater physical, will also produce the greater intellectual power : it will also be found that this stronger party will live in the climate the better fitted to develop physical vigor in the human being.

The next topic is the influence of

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

upon civilization ; a subject which has not yet received the profound attention to which it is justly entitled. Men advanced in the "Arts of War and Peace," are so apt to attribute this advancement to innate superiority of race —the Great Idol of the Tribe—that they care little to seek in other sources the causes of their greatness.

Geographical position has two distinct relations to civilization : *First*, the climatic or climate influence, embracing temperature (which has been briefly treated above,) geodesic, direction and prevalence of winds, &c.—*Secondly*, the facilities or obstacles which geographical position may afford to the intercourse of mankind.

In regard to the latter of these topics, Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, says, "The character of every people is more or less closely connected with that of its land. The station which the Greeks filled among nations, the part which they acted, and the works which they accomplished, depended in a great measure on the position which they occupied on the face of the globe. The manner and degree in which the nature of the country affected the bodily and mental frame and the social institutions of its inhabitants, may not be so easily determined ; but its physical aspect is certainly not less important in an historical point of view than it is striking and interesting in itself."

It has been observed by Professor Ritter, "that the civilization of countries is greatly influenced by their geographical forms, and by the relation which the interior spaces bear to the extent of coast. To every thirty seven square miles of continent in Europe, there is one mile of coast ; Asia has one hundred and five, Africa one hundred and thirty seven square miles of continent to one mile of coast. The ramifications of Asia, excluded from the continental trapezium are one fifth part, of Europe one third part of the entire continent : Africa is of compact and undivided form, with natural barriers which render access to the great regions of the interior remarkably diffi-

cult. In Africa there may be said to be no branches whatever : in Asia the stock is much greater in proportion to the branches and thence the more highly advanced culture of the branches has remained for the most part excluded from the great interior space. In Europe on the other hand, from the different relation of its spaces, the condition of the external parts had much greater influence on the interior. Hence, the higher culture of Greece and Italy penetrated more easily into the interior, and gave to the whole continent one harmonious character of civilization, while Asia contains many separate regions, which may be compared individually to Europe, and each of which could receive only its peculiar kind of culture from its own branches. Africa, deficient in these endowments of nature, and wanting both separating gulfs, and inland seas, could obtain no share in the expansion of that fruitful tree, which, having driven its roots deeply in the heart of Asia, spread its branches and blossoms over the western and southern tracts of the same continent, and expanded its crown over Europe. In Egypt alone it possessed a river system so formed as to favor the development of similar productions."—*Prichard's Researches into the Physical Hist. of Mankind*, Vol. 2. p. 354.)

The same views hold good in regard to the American continent, where the most remarkable advances in civilization were found in Central America, where the proportion of coast to the interior spaces approaches nearest to the standard of Europe.

These views relate to the *spread* rather than to the *origin* of civilization. The influence of geographical position on the origin or development of civilization is not discussed by Ritter nor Prichard. To this latter point we would solicit special attention.

The manner in which a large proportion of coast affects the development of civilization is two fold. First, its influence on the temperature of the land ; secondly, the facilities it affords for the intercourse of those variously endowed by various climatic influences.

Large bodies of water have the power of equalizing, or rendering less excessive, the temperature of whatever land may be in their vicinity. Water remains fluid and coherent under a range of 180 Fahr., from 32°, the freezing to 212°, the boiling or gaseous point. When heat falls upon the surface of water, it is not all absorbed therein ; for a large portion is thrown off said surface, in the vapor of water. This vapor is extremely small globules of water kept at a distance from each other by the expansive power of the heat, which they carry off from the surface of the water, which is left nearly as cool as the heat found it ; and this vapor requires so much heat for the purpose of maintaining itself a vapor, that its actual temperature, measured by a thermometer, is very little greater than the surface of the water forsaken by it ; and any sudden abstraction of this vaporizing heat, is followed by condensation of the vapor into—rain for example.

If the calorific rays of the sun, capable of raising the temperature of the air to 128° fall upon the subjacent surface of the ocean at a temperature of 70°, this latter surface will not be raised to the temperature of the air ; because, of the heat falling upon it a large proportion would be incessantly occupied in converting the surface of the water into vapor ; and this vapor, cooler than the surrounding air into which it rises, would actually cool the air ; and the remainder of the heat would raise the surface of the ocean only 5° or 6° in temperature. And this would be the case, were the heat of the sun constantly applied to the surface of the water. But as solar heat falls on any given portion of the globe, only 12 out of 24 hours, and as the vapor of water rises up and is driven off by currents of air, the surface of the ocean cools again during the intermission of solar heat.

Let calorific rays of the intensity 128° fall upon a surface of land. Land, having no cooling apparatus, such as water is furnished with, admits this intense heat into its surface, upon

and immediately beneath which this heat accumulates, gaining more by day as it loses by radiation at night, until at length it becomes as hot as the superincumbent air during the extreme heat of the day.

Assuming the same temperature of the air, 128° Fahr., if we place beneath it land and water adjacent, the surface of the land will of necessity be hotter than the surface of the ocean adjoining. And moreover, vast superficies of land such as the desert of Sahara, and the Plains of Hindustan, will reach a much higher temperature than strips of land environed with water in the same latitudes, as Central America and the Indian Islands ; for, in these latter instances, particularly at night, the hot air rising from the surface of the land is replaced by the cool air from the neighboring water surface.

The converse of these phenomena occur in the low temperatures of the high latitudes, where the land cools more rapidly than the water, and where, consequently, vast superficies of land are colder by many degrees than strips of land environed by large surfaces of water. The land, during the night, (which is long,) parts with more heat, by direct radiation from its surface, than it received from the sun during the day. The water-surface only parts with its heat by vaporization ; the colder the air, the slower the vaporization. And further, the cold water on the surface sinks to the bottom and is replaced by the water from the depths of the ocean, which is warmed by the slow accumulation of the heat of the summer. In some deep lakes, in high latitudes, for example Lake Seneca in New York, the surface is not frozen during the coldest winters, when the thermometer ranges near zero during a large portion of a month.

Moscow lies in 55° 45 min., and Dunfermline in Scotland lies in 56° 5 min., north latitude. The mean temperature of the winter in Moscow is 14° Fahr., and of Dunfermline 36°. Moscow is placed in the centre of a vast area of almost unbroken land surface. Dunfermline lies in an island surrounded by the German and Atlantic oceans. It is evident that the difference of the mean temperature of their winters, some 22°, is in favor of the superior physical development, and therefore mental endowments of the Scot ; and this difference is wrought entirely by geographical position.

Hence we perceive the vast illimitable ocean, the emblem of eternity, tempering the earth in every zone, and rendering its aid to the development of those powers in man which are essential to his advancement. And it is the power of the ocean, which together with the prevalence of westerly winds in northern latitudes, renders the eastern coasts of continents milder in temperature than the Western.

We next proceed to consider the influence of geographical position on the facilities or hindrances to the intercourse of variously endowed races or people. If civilization be the result of the assembling together of men, then, whatever favors such assembling is an essential condition towards civilization.

It is a seeming paradox, that man, an inhabitant of the land, should be more readily assembled with his fellow man by the juxtaposition of water ; yet this seeming paradox, within certain wide limits, is sober truth. A cluster of islands, even at a great distance from continents, produce that free intercourse which stimulates human ingenuity, in a larger degree than central positions in the heart of large continents. Compare the New Zealanders with the Tartar hordes of the steppes of Asia. But, insular position in the neighborhood of a well indented continent, seems the very best assemblage of geographical advantages for the production of civilization. If New Zealand be compared with Italy, we find them almost exact antipodes, with a most perfect similitude of outline. The New Zealanders are the Romans of the South Pacific, the conquering race, the most energetic of that region in body and mind. But New Zealand had no neighboring continent on which to send her resistless cohorts, else they would

have been re-enacted in the South-western what long ago occurred in the North eastern hemisphere. The New Zealanders have made good fight, nay, successful fight against the inroads of European civilization, and against the superior discipline of British troops.

The prevalence of large and navigable rivers, of inlets or gulphs, virtually converts a continent into so many aggregate Islands with easy intercommunication. Traffic, intercourse, civilization follow, under such geographical circumstances. But why? Why should the inhabitants of half insular Europe, germinate and develop a more perfect and rapid civilization than that of the myriads who people the vast unbroken spaces of continental Asia?

The idea of frequent intercourse alone, will scarcely answer this question; for the Nomadic and semi-Nomadic tribes of Asia, in changing their pasture grounds, travel in the course of a few years over an area more extensive than Europe, and meet, in their migrations, and have temporary intercourse with many other tribes, moving in opposite directions. These tribes have not advanced in civilization, and for sufficient reasons. The wild freedom of the Nomadic life naturally scorns and even abhors the acts to which men must resort in order to embrace a stationary life, whether pastoral or civic. Besides, the very intercourse between these migratory tribes occurs between men of the same physical and mental endowments.

On the other hand, the intercourse between the inhabitants of Europe occur between men of different mental and physical endowments. This, however, does not infer difference of race, for there is but one human race, made *ekeinou aimatos* "of the same blood." The difference, we mean, is such as springs from the difference in the climate or geographical position of mankind.

That the differences in the mental and physical constitutions of men, do arise from climatic or geographical causes may readily be proven. The Anglo Saxon race, as a class of people in our midst complacently style themselves, came to this continent some two centuries ago. Not only do these people now differ very greatly from the original stock, whose unchanged descendants are to be found in the British Isles, but they also differ from each other in the various parts of North America. A New-Englander resembles an Englishman in scarcely any physical or mental endowment, and differs in these respects from a Kentuckian or Georgian also; yet all are descendants of the great Anglo-Saxon race, and possibly are the unmixed off-shoots of one and the same family. As a whole, the American branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, is thinner in person, and more rapid in temperament than the British continuation of the same stock. In parts, we have the inhabitants of Vermont with all the physical characteristics of the Xanthous race, to wit, yellow hair and light eyes. And again we have the people of Georgia with the dark or brown hair and black eyes of the Melanic variety of mankind. And if, as these facts prove, the same stock of men, placed under different geographical influences, undergo a change in mental and physical endowments, this change must result from the geographical influences. In other words, certain localities, nay, every locality, will produce certain peculiarities in the mental and physical constitution of whatever men continuously reside thereon.

Many facts uphold this curious and important view. Two centuries have been sufficient to stamp upon the people of these United States, physical and mental peculiarities which the world readily recognises to be American. Nor is this all. The American people, descended from early emigrants, are rapidly assuming the physical type of the Aboriginal inhabitants of this Continent. This fact was first mentioned to the writer by an artist, who, some years ago, took casts of many distinguished American Statesmen. Its accuracy may be successfully tested by an examination of any Daguerrian National Gallery.

Another instance: Mrs. Meredith, of

England, in her book of travels in New South Wales, says of the Anglo-Saxons in that region: "The children are mostly pale and slight, though healthy, with very light hair and eyes. * * * They grow up tall; the girls often very pretty and delicate looking whilst young, though very often disfigured by bad teeth. * * * The boys grow up long and often lanky, seldom showing the strong athletic build so common at home: or, if they do, it is spoiled by round shoulders and a narrow chest; and what puzzles me exceedingly to account for, a very large proportion of both male and female natives snuffle dreadfully—just the same nasal twang as many Americans have. In some cases English parents have come out here with English-born children. These all speak clearly and well, and continue to do so, whilst those born after the parents arrive in the colony, have the detestable snuffle."

Dr. Prichard remarks: "In general the tribes (of Western Africa) inhabiting elevated countries in the interior are very superior to those who dwell on low tracts on the sea coast; and this superiority is manifest both in mental and bodily qualities. Not only the Mandingos and Fulahs, but all the other races yet described, who are aborigines of mountainous regions are more intelligent than the maritime tribes, as well as physically superior to them." * In the same volume, (pp. 168, 142, 309, *et passim*.) this distinguished writer shows by clear and conclusive proof. 1st. That change of climate has converted the physical characteristics of Jews into those of negroes. 2dly. That the same cause has changed the physical characteristics of the latter to the complexion and physiognomy of Neapolitans and Sicilians. And 3dly. That the Greeks of the present day have the same physical, and some of the intellectual characteristics of the Greeks of old. (p. 505.)

These and kindred facts establish the following propositions: That any certain geographical position produces certain peculiarities in the physical and mental characteristics of men residing thereon: † that a change of geographical position changes the characteristics, physical and mental, of any portion of the human race, who may undergo this change: that any given locality will maintain the same characteristics in a people continuously residing thereon, and will also, in course of time, produce the same characteristics in the descendants of whatever emigrants may come to that locality, and continue thereon for a period of at least two hundred years. Now, the bearing of these facts and propositions upon our argument. Since civilization depends upon the frequent intercourse of men differing in physical and mental endowments, it follows that whatever geographical positions throw together men thus differently endowed, such positions, or localities, or assemblage of localities, of themselves essentially conduce to civilization. A country, frequently interspersed with mountains, plains, rivers and sea coasts, will produce greater physical and mental variety in the inhabitants thereof, than a land seldom if at all, diversified by these geographical varieties. The opposite banks of the same river, owing to some peculiarity in geological or climatic feature, will produce a greater diversity in the same variety of the human family, than can be afforded by one thousand

* Physical History Mankind, vol. 2, p. 87. The latter remark confirms our view of the influence of temperature on physical development; for the mountainous regions, within the tropics, frequently enjoy the mild temperature of the middle zone of the earth.

† "The earliest names given by the ancients to the inhabitants of countries to the northwards of the Euxine are descriptive of the physical characters or external aspect; and these names though they belonged to races who have long since disappeared from the Pontic countries, yet indicate physical characters similar to those of the present inhabitants." "Nature" says M. Kruse, "is always like herself, and produces similar external conditions. It would appear that certain climates are favorable to the development of such physical characters, which take place wherever these are found, and disappear in races which are removed from under their influence." Id. vol. 3, p. 446.

and times the distance in a plain and level country.

In Great Britain and Ireland for example, (all which may be contained in a parallelogram one thousand miles long by six hundred broad,) there is greater and more frequent diversity in the physical and mental endowments of the inhabitants than can be found in any area ten times greater, cut out of the solid trapezium of Asia or of Africa. Not only do what may be termed island continents, afford facilities for frequent intercourse among men, they also furnish intercourse between men of various physical and mental endowments; and constantly reproduce this intercourse, by constantly reproducing differently endowed varieties of mankind.

These views gain force from the circumstance that the varieties of mankind who have advanced European civilization to its present height, are offsprings from the same stock that now wanders over the steppes of Asia, or are petrified into the barbaric castes of India. The identity of the Greek and Latin languages with the Sanskrit, or sacred language of the Hindus, indisputably point out the kindred origin of the Indians and these classical nations. "From the neighborhood of the Bish-Balig (or the fine towns) issued those successive swarms which traversed the rivers of the Euxine and made their way into Europe, first under the names of Hunns, and afterwards under those of Chazars, Bulgarians and Komarians." (Vol. IV., p. 315.) These races all came from the neighborhood of the lake Baikal, and are identical with the same great Turkish race, part of which still occupies the mountain-environs of Bish-Balig, in a state barely removed from barbarism; another portion having over-run the southeastern part of Europe, and the adjacencies of Asia, comprise the present Ottomans, considerably advanced in civilization; and still another portion mingled with the inhabitants of central Europe, in a still more favorable geographical position, have carried civilization to the highest limit yet attained upon this globe.

It may be objected to these views, that they do not account for all the phenomena; for instance, the stationary or retrograde movements of nations dwelling in geographical positions most favorable to the development of civilization. The reply to this objection, is, that certain geographical positions are capable of producing and advancing civilization of a certain type to its utmost stage of development, and that beyond this type there are general or grand advances, which can only be accomplished by the blending or amalgamating the civilization of one type with that of another type, more advanced, or perhaps a complimentary co-ordinate. And, moreover, the advancement of civilization in a continuous stream, is impossible in any one given geographical location, because no one location upon the globe is furnished even with the physical requisites of such advancement. The civilization of Egypt could originate and grow perfect in no part of the earth, except such as the Nile or a similar stream should overflow in periods synchronous with certain astronomical events. Nor could Egyptian civilization develop, in Egypt, the more ideal and beautiful type of Greek civilization, nor yet the civilization of Great Britain—and for obvious physical reasons.

Having advanced any type of civilization to the perfection of its type, men regard it as good, and worthy the preserving; but, in the endeavor to preserve it from innovation, they are apt to surround it with barriers that keep it stationary; hence, stationary civilization. Retrograde movements, in favorable geographical positions, arise from conquest, or some great moral depression brooding over the people. Yet at any, the most distant time, when this moral cause may be removed, the people will become salient and progressive.

It may be further objected that in this hypothesis the vast influence of Christianity, as a civilizer, is not taken into the account. Yet no one can be more profoundly sensible

than we, of the paramount importance of Christianity among the influences which govern human advancement. Without Divine Revelation the human mind could never have soared to those heights of thought whence drop down those hallowed sentiments, which in creating the joys of home and the wants of home, the abeyance of a well spent present, to a glorious future life—have stimulated the human mind in its onward path.

The Great Founder of the Christian religion has said, that the seed must fall upon good ground, in order to bring forth good fruit;—and this truth is fully exemplified in the topographical movement of Christianity. Begun in the very centre of the habitable globe, the gospel radiated in all directions. From Jerusalem the Apostles went forth, armed with holy zeal, and planted the banner of the Cross in the four corners of the earth, as recorded in the New Testament: they were successful in every direction. But where is Christianity now? We find it following the directions, and spreading over regions the geographical positions of which are most favorable for the development of the human mind. Shut up in the confines of Armenia, or in the heights of Abyssinia—geographically isolated from the currents of variously-endowed races or varieties of men—it has dwindled down to the rankest superstition, and utterly failed as an element promoting the development of civilization. Towards the West, however, the star of Christianity took its way, and flourished, because, in that direction it fell in with geographical positions affording frequent intercourse between variously endowed men.

The last objection we shall mention, relates to the assumed superiority of certain so-called "races" of mankind—the term races meaning not merely a distinct breed, but even a separate and distinct creation of the genus *homo*. In that part of the habitable globe in which these presents are written, it is a prevalent opinion that the All-Wise Creator

"Tried his 'prentice hand on man,
And then he made"—

not "a woman," as Burns gallantly said, but an Anglo-Saxon; and in the "triumph of the hour," it is no uncommon thing to hear Irishmen and Scotchmen echo the praises of their Anglo-Saxon energy and Anglo-Saxon blood.

How far are these Anglo-Saxons a race? Let us see. Originally Low Dutch, they thereby claim kin with the great Germanic race; they are a cross between the latter and the Celtic race, with which they were mingled in their continental, as well as insular abode.—As part of the Germanic race, or Berserkers, (query, purse seekers?) they had already undergone the thousand and one admixtures which the race underwent from its exodus from Asia until its final settlement in Europe. So far from being a distinct race of mankind, endowed, as a race, with superior genius, this Anglo-Saxon race is an admixture of all the Indo-European races, and owes its great energy to this very admixture in connection with the fortunate accidents of a fine climate and otherwise favorable geographical position.

We have now finished our imperfect say on the influences of climate and geographical position upon civilization. There are physical causes, such as food, which exert a powerful influence, but most of them are immediately or remotely dependent on the grand causes we have endeavored to discuss. From the facts adduced, it is evident that whatever prevents the full and harmonious development of the human frame, or whatever arrests the intercourse of mind with mind, will retard the advancement or the civilization of the human race.

Tracing these physical causes to their physical results, the conclusion is inevitable that two elements occupy opposite positions in regard to civilization; *admixture*, the positive, *isolation*, the negative.

This is true of moral as well as physical influences. If we look into the institutions of mankind, we find that wherever these institutions favor a free admixture of human thought, there, civilization advances; but, wherever human institutions isolate human thought, keep

soul from communion with its fellow soul, there progress ceases—and the stage of advancement, however great, or however small, at which this isolation occurs, such advancement ceases, and leaves frozen into rock, the monuments of the era at which the breath of life ceased, and the step onward was forcibly arrested. The chrysalis of a higher life may have been there, the germs of a new and vast era of improvement may have sent forth its shoots—but there they remain hushed, passionless, still, the seal of a moral death upon them.

Caste is the general term for that feature in human institutions which isolates man from his fellow man. Wherever caste is established, civilization is arrested, and either remains stationary, as in China, or sinks back into barbarism. In India, for example, the inhabitants of Malabar are divided into the following castes:

1. Brahmins, who are called Namburis.
2. Nays of various denominations; these are the rajas or great lords.
3. Tiar—free cultivators.
4. Malears, musicians and conjurers.
5. Poliars, who are serfs or bondsmen attached to the soil.

A Nayr may approach but must not touch a Brahman. A Tiar must not come within thirty-six steps of a Brahman, or within twelve of a Nayr. The lower orders have their fixed limits of approach.

Had these or similar castes existed in the fifteenth century, the art of printing could not have been accomplished;* and if Great Britain during the last seven hundred years, had been the field of similar castes, had her Peer been irrevocably separated from her Peasant, her Yeoman from her Artisan, she would not have advanced one footfall in that great path of civilization which she has so gloriously trod. It has been in proportion as one caste after another has been broken down, and as international hatred has merged into a unity of feeling, and of effort, and of intercourse, that she has led the world along towards new and important advances. Our own Republic, no unworthy offspring of that great Empire, has, in a great measure, emulated her noble example. Enjoying equal, nay, superior advantages, in a more various admixture of differently endowed men, comprised of, as our motto indicates, *E PLURIBUS UNUM*, we have kept pace with our prototype.

From many nations—from the dogged energy of the Englishman, from the cold, abiding intellect of the Scot, from the fresh, buoyant spirit of the Irishman, from the keen analytic skill of the Gaul, from the far-searching, subtle genius of the German, from the mild, nomad aborigine, and, though last not least, from the all-suffering, the all-enduring, the all-surviving and ever-despised negro—from all these varieties of the human family, are made up the unity of the American People. The largest, the most frequent and freest intercourse of the most variously endowed men that the world has yet seen assembled together, make up the physical character and constitute the intellectual being of the American Nation. No wonder then that we surpass all the world beside in the rapidity of our growth, and the promise of our advancement.

Blessed furthermore with a territory the largest portion of which lies within the range of temperature most favorable for physical and mental labor; a territory, moreover, sufficiently diversified by geographical position—constantly to reproduce variously endowed men—and having, in the Steam Engine, a means of keeping alive the intercourse between the various sections of this territory, all the elements of Progress lie within our grasp and must multiply with the duration of Christianity and of Union amongst us. The only drawback in our prosperity is the caste which slavery has thrown in our midst, and which is chief minister to the continuance of slavery. The re-

trograde movement of States in which slavery and caste have greatest influence, compared with the advancement of other States comparatively uncursed with these isolators, are abundantly known.

The destruction of this caste and slavery will remove the last barrier in the way of our national advancement: it is therefore a labor incumbent on every American citizen who holds dear the cause of Human Progress. More especially does this duty devolve upon the colored American.—For the first time within record of written history, the negro variety of mankind is placed within the pale of civilization, with the chances of becoming part and parcel thereof. Shall bolts and bars affixed to the temples of learning, shall frowns and scorn written upon the faces of our proud fellow men, shall the infirmities stamped upon us by the influences of a less favorable clime, or the horrible endurance of two centuries of servitude—shall these or twenty such impediments, crush our energies or pale our hopes? No.

Let us toil on, then, and with hope. Away down in the depths of ocean, scarcely reached by the light of the sun, the coral insect toils on through years on years; the insect perishes, but its labors live, and pile on pile, its tiny successors continually lay, whilst the years roll on. At length, uncounted ages having glided by, the tiny laborers reach the surface of the sea; the waves joyfully caress the visitant, and the birds of the air rest their weary wings in the same, and air and ocean bring their offerings to the successful laborer; at length the ships of the sea come, and find a refuge from the tempest; men erect their dwellings, society is organized, and the Great Father of all is glorified;—and all this has come from the noiseless, persevering toil of the little laborer, only gifted with instinct, in the depths of the ocean. In what are called the Dark Ages, when the ocean of ignorance and superstition, dammed up by the iron walls of caste, kept the human mind stagnant, unmoved, there were, here and there in stony cells, hundreds of monks, who plied their unwearied pens in transcribing and illuminating with fantastic figures, the lore of Ancient Greece and Rome. Long years rolled by, and from the humble toil of theirs, the glory of modern letters and the light of modern science have arisen.

Higher, far higher than the labor of the coral, loftier than the toil of the monks, is the work allotted to the man of color in these United States; like them he is doomed to toil, but he toils with a reward constantly in his grasp, with the glorious result full in his view; he knows that progress of mankind is intrusted to his keeping, and he toils for the advent of that time of "blissful tranquility" for the race, "when the spiritual shall become regnant over the carnal."

The following occurs among other resolutions passed at a late anti-slavery meeting in Salem, Mass. Does it not set forth the true palpable, common-sense basis of the anti-slavery enterprise? Does it not commend itself to your judgment, reader?

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is not a political strife about slavery extension into Kansas or elsewhere, or the acquisition of territory for that nefarious purpose; it is not a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or restoration of the Missouri Compromise; it is not the abolition or prevention of the slave trade, foreign or domestic; nor yet a reversal of the Dred Scott decision, or any other merely political or temporary expedient to modify the slave system, while continuing to lend it every support, as long as the Southern States shall choose to continue it; but it is, instead, a bold, fearless and determined warfare upon the whole doctrine, no matter where found, or by whom sustained, that man ever can hold property in man.

A bill has been introduced in the Georgia Legislature, prohibiting the sale in that State of the book containing the speeches made by Parson Browlow and Rev. Mr. Pryne, on slavery, at Philadelphia.

* "Petrus Ophilio Grensheim, (then a servant of the inventor, J. Faust,) an ingenious and shrewd man, discovered a superior method of casting type, and carried the art to its present perfection."—*Lambinet*, 1,100.

To the Directors of Lyceums, &c.

Being under engagement to arrange, in Albany, a large Collection of Shells from the Gulf of California, which I have presented to the State of New York, (the Duplicate, as far as possible, of the Type Collection which I presented to the British Museum,) I shall be glad to pay my expenses for further travel in the United States or Canada, by Lecturing wherever there is an opening. I enclose a list of those subjects which I have studied most, but could modify them to suit the wishes of friends. I am in possession of a complete series of Copperplate Transparent Slides, illustrating the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, and of the best moveable Astronomical Diagrams. I have also purchased a selection of the newest Dissolving Views and Chromatropes, from the firm of Carpenter & Westley, London. If Exhibitions be preferred to Lectures, these would occupy three nights, with suitable explanations: or they may be introduced after any of the Lectures.

I beg to refer to Dr. Augustus A. Gould, of Boston; and (through him) to Prof Agassiz, of Cambridge University; also to my brother, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, F.R.S., &c., Registrar of the University of London; or to Dr. John Edward Gray, F.R.S., &c., Keeper of the Zoological Collections at the British Museum.

My Address will be to the "care of Colonel Jewett, at the Natural History Rooms, Albany, N.Y."

Yours respectfully,

PHILIP P. CARPENTER,

(B. A. of the University of London; Hon. Curator at the Warrington Free Museum and Library; Member of Council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; Author of the "Report on the present state of our knowledge of the Mollusca of W. N. America," published in its Transactions for 1856, pp. 159-368; "Descriptive Catalogue of the Reigen Collection of Mazatlan Mollusca," printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 532 pp.; "Monograph of the Caecidae," and various other papers in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London, &c., &c.)

LIST OF SUBJECTS.

1. Rambles through a California Oyster.—(With a series of drawings.)
2. Geographical Distribution of Mollusca.
3. Port Royal and Versailles compared.
4. Scenes in the Old World. (With Dissolving Views.)
5. Natural History of the Mammalia.—(Course.)
6. Natural History of the Mollusca.—(Course.)
7. Outlines of Animal and Vegetable Physiology. (Course.)
8. The Comet of 1858, and kindred bodies.
9. The Heavenly Bodies, in their relation to our Earth. (Course.)
10. Sanitary Reform, and the Laws of Health. [The facts collected for these Lectures are very important, and have been obtained from the most authentic sources.]
11. Free Lectures, wherever desired, on "The Curses of England and America—the Drinking System and Slavery."

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—At a recent meeting of the Rocky Creek Baptist Church, the following resolutions were passed, and ordered to be published:

Whereas, We have been credibly informed that a large body of native Africans are within our midst, and an effort is being made to spread them broad cast over the country,

Resolved, That we do not oppose the existence of Slavery as we have it among us, but are willing to defend it with all the means that God has given us.

Resolved, That we have heard with deep regret that a number of these native Africans are in the midst of us.

Resolved, That to bring untrained Negroes from Africa, and land them upon any portion of the soil of South Carolina, for the purpose of making slaves of them, meets our unqualified disapprobation, and we will oppose it with all the legal means within our power.—*Edgfield (S. C.) Advertiser.*

During the year 1858, deeds of manumission for ninety-four slaves have been recorded in the Probate Court of Cincinnati. Of these, twenty-seven belonged to the estate of Hester Blanchard, late of Fayette county, Ky., and were manumitted by will.

The Hayti Revolution.

The schooner North Wind of Provincetown, Capt. Higgins, arrived below this port yesterday, bringing highly important news from Hayti, which country is again the scene of civil commotion.

Capt. Higgins sailed from Gonaives January 1, and brings very late advices from that portion of the island. He reports the Haytien part of the island in a state of revolt against the present Government of the Emperor Soulouque, or Faustin I., as he is officially styled. The revolution broke out on the 22d of December. On that day a small party of Republicans, headed by Gen. Jeffards, an officer attached to the Haytien army, who is said not to be a coal-black negro, entered the town of Gonaives, and, being joined by the people in large numbers, without opposition from any quarter, they became emboldened by success, and renounced all allegiance to the Emperor and his Government. The population became greatly excited, and greeted Gen. Jeffards with unbounded applause. The leaders of the emeute immediately took measures to consolidate their power with the people, and, taking advantage of the prevailing enthusiasm which manifested among all classes, they, in the name of the people, proclaimed a republic. Gen. Jeffards, the leader of the Republicans, was subsequently declared President. It is stated that the whole affair passed over without bloodshed.

The spirit of revolt thus inaugurated at Gonaives, immediately spread to the adjoining towns, and the whole country thereabouts was soon in a state of commotion. The people of Aux Cayes and Jacmel, two important towns, welcomed the new order of things, and declared for the Republic and General Jeffards. It is stated that all the southern part of the island are in favor of the change, and in some places the people rose *en masse* to receive the leaders of the revolt.

The revolution was commenced at Gonaives by Gen. Jeffards and a small body of adherents, the number of whom was exceedingly small at first, but being joined by the inhabitants, it soon grew into a popular outbreak, and at last accounts was extending.

Capt. Higgins reports that on the night of Jan. 1, as he sailed by the fortified town of St. Mares, he saw the place in flames, and infers that the insurgents had met with some opposition from the adherents of Soulouque, and that one of the parties had fired the town.

When Capt. Higgins left no news had been received from Port-au-Prince, the capital, and residence of the Emperor. The body of his army is at that place, and it remains to be seen whether the revolution will extend to the capital, and if so, whether the soldiers will fraternize with the revolters, and turn against their old master.

Business was generally suspended on account of recent excitement.—*Boston Journal, Jan. 17.*

Thirty-seven of the indicted citizens of Oberlin recently lunched in company, together with some thirty others, and for a band of indicted culprits, they were exceedingly light-hearted and merry. Toasts were drunken, and speeches made, all evincing a fear of good laws and a contempt for bad and unconstitutional laws, which reduce men to the condition of brute beasts, and punish men for offering a cup of cold water to a fugitive slave. A committee was appointed by the "criminals," with full power to make every arrangement for the defence in March, and to attend to certain other items, not yet made public, but which sometime may be, to the inconsolable astonishment of a few individuals and their friends, if they have any.

In Pittsburg, Pa., George Shaw, convicted of abducting or kidnapping (or attempting it) George W. Ferris, out of the State for the purpose of selling him into slavery, has had granted a new trial because the first verdict was from only eleven jurors—the prisoner's counsel having consented to try the case with that number. The bill of rights says the trial by jury shall be "inviolable," and the Court was of opinion that any alteration in the customary practice is a violation.

MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS.

Three colored fugitives from Kentucky passed through Erie, Pa., last week, on their way to Canada, where they are guaranteed the common rights of life and liberty.

John T. Hatcher, keeper of a slave yard in New Orleans, whipped a negro woman named Eudora, for an hour and a quarter, on the 23d ult., from the effects of which she died in a short time. Hatcher fled, and at last accounts had not been arrested.

The Mayor of Richmond, Va., has directed the police to stop all carriages found in the streets with negroes in them, and to arrest and cage the passengers, if they have not the proper authority for riding in public conveyances.

The Vicksburg Sun says a runaway slave was recently caught with the hand of a white man in his pocket. The negro confessed that he had exhumed the body, and cut the hand off the dead man's arm, to act as a charm in keeping the dogs from following his track, and on the strength of his confession he was hung. A white silk glove was on the hand when it was found.

It having been stated that Greeley was soon to leave the Tribune and join his former partner, that paper denies it, and says Greeley "will probably retain his present controlling position in the Tribune as long as he continues to take any part in human affairs."

A runaway negro, recently "picked up," and valued at \$1,000, is about to be sold in the Covington, Ky., jail to the highest bidder.

A "smart, lively young negro," with his wife and child, who recently arrived in Lowell, Mass., in an exhausted condition, have been forwarded to Canada by the Underground Railroad.

Hon. Wm. Pitt Fessenden, Republican, has been re-elected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Maine, for six years from the 4th of March next.

The Legislature of Michigan has elected ex-Governor Bingham, Republican, U. S. Senator, for the term of six years, commencing on the 4th of March next. He succeeds Mr. Stuart, Democrat.

A negro by the name of Jack, died in the Poor House at Redfield, Ct., a few days ago. He was stolen from the coast of Africa, and was for many years a slave of Col. Dibble, of Danbury. On referring to the oldest inhabitants, it is believed that Jack, at the time of his decease, must have been 135 years old.

The Florida Legislature has repealed the law providing for the incarceration of free negro sailors while their vessels are in port.

Greene county, in Pennsylvania, is becoming famous as the scene of slave-hunting expeditions from Virginia, and citizens join in the chase with alacrity, as if they delighted in the sport. For instance, in the Greene County Republican we find this:—"A party of runaway slaves passed near town on yesterday morning, consisting of three men and two women. About 12 o'clock, the owner and his hired company, consisting of twelve or fifteen horsemen, arrived in hot pursuit after them. They, in company with the Sheriff and several of our citizens, pursued on, but as we go to press before they have returned, we cannot tell whether they have captured the poor fugitives or not."

A letter from Havana states that the schooner Kate Ellen, formerly of Portland, and brig Rufus Searle, formerly of New Orleans, have both been captured on the African coast by British cruisers.

It is stated that colored students are now attending the exercises at the Yale Medical school.

Passmore Williamson has been non-suited in the Pennsylvania Court, before which he brought his action against Judge Lewis, for refusing him a writ of habeas corpus when imprisoned for contempt by the late Judge Kane. The Court decided that the habeas corpus act does not apply to cases of commitments in execution of final judgments after trial, but only to warrants, issued before trial.

We copy the following item from the Richmond South: "On Wednesday evening a resident of Prince William County, named Crawford, was committed to jail by Justice Kankey, charged with declaring that he was an abolitionist; that he believed a negro as good as he was, if he behaved himself; and maintaining, by speaking, that persons have not the right of property in slaves under the law."

The Domestic Slave Trade.

The domestic Slave Trade is now unusually active, and the prices obtained for "likely negroes" in the Southern slave marts show that the demand exceeds the supply. Slave breeding for market is now a staple and the most profitable business of Virginia and the older slave States, and it is pursued with a vigor that makes large money returns. The great demand is for field hands in the cotton and sugar sections, and it is not unusual to meet with paragraphs similar to the following from a recent number of the *Richmond Enquirer*:

"PRICES FOR NEGROES."—Youthful, sound and active negro boys and girls, as field hands, continue to be in good demand at present, at very high prices in the Richmond slave mart. Yesterday a number of girls, black and strong, aged about nine or ten years, brought \$1,025 each. One girl aged about twenty, with her first infant, brought \$1,230, and girls aged about sixteen years, for work, such as common washing and ironing, brought from \$1,000 to \$1,040 each. Plow boys aged fourteen, ranged at from \$1,000 to \$1,200 each. Altogether the prices for good hands seem to be kept up at an unusually high degree."

The drain of slaves from the Atlantic States to the Mississippi Valley is constant, and far exceeds the white emigration from the same States to the Southwest. The railroads afford facilities for the transit of slaves, and many are sent over the Chattanooga route. On the 17th of December one gang of 275 negroes passed through Chattanooga en route for Cottontown, and the paper published there states that the average of forced emigration of colored Americans of African descent through Chattanooga per week is from six to eight hundred. This is only one line of travel from the old Slave States to the new.

The domestic Slave Trade is in many respects more cruel, heartless, and revolting than the foreign which is treated as piracy by the principal nations of the earth, and by the Republic which tolerates and encourages the former even at its Capital; for notwithstanding the act prohibiting the sale of slaves in the District of Columbia, it is violated under the very nose of the President and the federal authorities, with impunity. But a few weeks ago an advertisement appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, stating that on a certain day ten slaves would be sold at auction, in front of the City Jail. The announcement caused some stir from the publicity of the place of sale, and the auction was held within the walls of the jail, which, with the ground upon which it stands, is Federal property, the property of the United States. The sale was attended by quite a large number of persons, though efforts were made to exclude all but slave dealers. The sale was conducted in the slave mart style. Each chattel, as offered for sale, was submitted to the examination, manual and ocular, of the bidders, as is usual in such cases. In one instance where a young mother and her infant were under the hammer, she, of course, standing with the child in her arms, the sale lingered so long that the poor woman, from fatigue and excitement, sank exhausted to the floor. These slaves were brought up from a Maryland estate to be sold under the flag of freedom waving from the dome of the National Capitol! No prosecutions under the violated law of Congress have followed.

The horrors of the middle passage are unknown, it is true, in the domestic Slave Trade. But there are other horrors faintly realized by the wild Africans only a little raised above the brutes, as were the cargo of the slaver Echo. The American slaves are much more elevated in the scale of intelligence as a class, and have the ties of kindred and home to be ruthlessly sundered by the most hardened and depraved of humans, the slave dealers. Families are broken up, husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister torn apart and separated forever, as though mere brutes that perish.—This is done every day in nearly one half the States of this Union. Is it a marvel that the greedy dealers in human flesh should re-open the foreign Slave Trade?—that Southern Grand

Juries should refuse to indict the pirates?—or that African slaves are secretly landed on the Southern Atlantic coast?—*Cleveland Leader*.

Man-Hunting in Pennsylvania.

Now that the wheels of legislation are again in motion at Harrisburg, we wish to urge upon our Senators and Representatives there the necessity of enacting a Personal Liberty Law for this Commonwealth—a Law securing to every man within the limits of the State a right to his person and his liberty. We ask that hunting for men with a view to enslave them, be forever prohibited in this State. We ask that the homes and the hearths of the old Keystone, be protected by law from the ravages of the kidnapper, and the plunderings of the man-hunter. We perceive that movements towards urging such beneficial and needed legislation are being made in another section. A large and influential Anti-Slavery Convention was recently held in Philadelphia, at which strong resolutions were passed upon the subject, and the circulation of the annexed Petition was recommended:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the State of Pennsylvania, respectfully ask that you will pass a law prohibiting the surrender of any human being claimed as a slave on the soil of Pennsylvania."

This form of Petition is pointed, brief, and embodies correct sentiment. We propose to print blank copies of this Petition, or one of similar import, for circulation in this region of the State. Who will refuse to sign such a paper? We may not succeed in persuading our law-tinkers to act upon our prayer. It is probable that we will not. But we may begin to-day an agitation which one day will culminate in this desirable action. We can put our wishes on record. We can give expression to the moral sentiment of the people on this subject. Similar movements are being carried forward in other States, with marked promises of success. We profess to be a Free State—we are now such only in name. Our verdant meadows and smiling hill-sides are all open to the invader who may come hither scenting human blood! Every human being is free by virtue of his birth—free because God made him so. We ask not, then, as some have basely claimed, that no man shall be taken into slavery from this State without a trial by jury. We ask no such absurd and cringing thing. Let no man be put on trial in Pennsylvania to ascertain whether he belongs to himself or not! But let us enact, as a sovereign State worthy of the name, that every human being on our soil is free, and shall be protected in his freedom. We owe it to ourselves, to humanity and justice, to honor and consistency, to do this thing.—*True American.*

ESCAPE OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—The brig Wm. Purrington, from Wilmington, N. C., which arrived in Boston harbor Monday afternoon, had on board a fugitive from bondage, who had secreted himself in the vessel.—When the captain discovered the runaway slave, he was quite incensed, and vowed that he would return him to slavery. But on consultation with his owners, the captain's wrath was mollified, and while the matter was pending, the fugitive solved the question by jumping overboard, and swimming to Lovell's Island, from whence he came to this city in a sloop. Meanwhile, news of the affair reached the city, and a writ of habeas corpus was forthwith procured, and placed in the hands of Deputy Sheriff Francis O. Irish. Mr. Deputy Irish, accompanied by Judge Russell and some dozen other friends of the slave, chartered a yacht, proceeded down the harbor, and boarded the Wm. Purrington, and made known their "errand of mercy" to the captain; but they found that the man whom they intended to assist, had by his own exertions rendered their efforts unnecessary.

Suicide of Judson J. Hutchinson.

The telegraph sends us meagre accounts of the suicide, on the 11th inst., of Mr. Judson J. Hutchinson, one of the members of the Hutchinson family, once so popular here. It is some fifteen years since this band of singers, consisting of the three brothers, Judson, John and Asa, and their sister Abby, first appeared here. A brother, Jesse, since dead, was their financial manager. Their concerts were at time as much the rage as opera is now. Good music was not so frequently heard in New York then as at the present day, and the simple quartettes and songs of the Hutchinsons, with the accompaniment of an asthmatic seraphine, were enthusiastically admired. They went to Great Britain, where they were well received, and a long biography of the family, written by Mary Howitt, appeared in Howitt's *Journal*, traveled all over the United States, until the marriage of Abby and her retirement to private life broke up the troupe.

The brothers, however, obtained the services of another soprano, made a visit to California, became followers of various isms, and interlarded their concerts with abolition songs and phrenological speeches. Of late years they have not attracted such good audiences; public taste has changed, and the Hutchinson Brothers have not recently appeared in public.

They made considerable money by their concerts, and several years ago built a curious house at their birth-place, Lynn, Massachusetts. Directly behind this town rises a bold, precipitous granite hill, known in the vicinity as the "High Rock." On the slope of this, and near the top is perched the home of the Hutchinsons. It is an odd affair, of wood, painted brown, and of a nondescript style of architecture. It commands a noble view of Lynn and various adjacent towns, while the peninsula of Nahant is seen nearly in front stretching far out into the ocean. This house has been closed during the absence of the Hutchinsons on their concert tours; but the public had free access through the grounds to the summit of the "High Rock," which is often visited by strangers and others, desirous of enjoying the beautiful prospect.

Mr. Hutchinson committed suicide by hanging himself, being probably deranged at the time. Mrs. Patton, [Abby,] John and Asa are all that are now left of the once famous Hutchinson family.—*Evening Post.*

The Boston *Journal* gives the following particulars of the suicide:

The family of the deceased were about to proceed, by appointment, to the residence of Dr. Addison Davis, on Mulberry street, to spend the evening. Previous to leaving their house, Mr. John W. Hutchinson, in company with his brother, Judson, entered the basement of a new building, to adjust a fire built for the purpose of drying the plastering. This done, Mr. John W. Hutchinson left, and returned to the stone cottage, under the impression that his brother would follow him. Not making his appearance after the lapse of some fifteen minutes, he was sought, and discovered in the basement, suspended from a beam, his knees nearly touching the floor. When cut down, life was extinct. There was no noose in the rope, which was simply wound round his neck.

The deceased has exhibited striking evidence of insanity for several years, and was at one time an inmate of an insane asylum.—On Saturday evening he assisted at a concert given by his brother in aid of the Free Church of Lynn, at which time it was remarked that he appeared to be in a state of despondency.—The wife of the deceased was in Lynn on the morning previous to the commission of the suicidal act, and left the same day for the old homestead in Milford, N. H.

Although it is known that Oregon has a population not more than half that of Kansas, and that Kansas was entitled to admission more than two years ago on the same plea by which Oregon asks admission, yet Kansas is to be kept out under the English bill, and Oregon admitted.

A Few Southern Gems.


\$100 REWARD.—Ranaway from Govy Hood, Esq., living in Lebanon, Ky., on Saturday, the 20th inst., a Negro Boy named WILLIAM. He is a very bright mulatto, with black wavy hair, is about 23 years old, 5 feet 5 inches high, speaks rather slow and in a whining tone of voice. Had on when he left a blue cloth coat with brass buttons, striped cassimere pants, black soft hat (low crown,) patent leather shoes, a silver watch guard chain with gold heart on it; he also had with him a black satchel.

The above reward will be paid if he is taken out of the State and secured in the jail in Louisville, Ky., or \$50 if taken in the State and secured in the jail in Louisville, Ky.

B. P. SCALLY, 562 Main st.


SALE OF NEGROES.—At an early day, the undersigned will have at his establishment about 300 Virginia and Maryland Negroes, for sale: Field hands, Mechanics, and every class of House Servants. A good supply will be kept up during the season. Purchasers are invited to call at No. 55 Baronne street, between Common and Gravier, and the second street west from St. Charles Hotel.

WALTER L. CAMPBELL.

No broker will be paid a commission on the sale of negroes.

W. L. C.


FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—The Mulatto boy VICTOR, about 15 years old, has absconded from the Plantation of the late Major J. J. Bulow in St. Andrew's parish. The above reward will be paid for his apprehension, and lodgment in the Work House in this city, or in any jail within this State.

Apply at this office.


NOTICE—\$200 REWARD.—My Negro Man MILES, about 35 or 40 years old, bright copper color, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, heavy made, and round face, runaway from my house in Marion county, Ky., about 5 miles east of Lebanon, on the night of the 15th inst. Said boy has a wife at James Gastin's, Bradfordsville, Marion county. I have some fears said boy is making his way to a free State. He is very sensible and smart, and may have free papers. The said boy was well clothed with brown jeans pants, and blue mixed coat, had also a black mixed coat, both made last year. I will give for the boy \$25 if taken in this county, if taken out of the county and in this State \$100, out of the State \$200, and secured in some jail so that I get him.

WILLIAM W. MAYS.

Marion county, Nov. 16, 1858.


RUNAWAY NEGRO.—Committed to the jail of Upshur Co. on the 26th of July, a runaway negro boy, who says his name is JOHN, and that he belongs to Phil Thompson, who resides in the city of Houston, Harris Co., Texas. The said boy is about 24 or 25 years of age, rather slender built, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, rather copper colored, and says he is a blacksmith by trade.

The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges and take him away, or he will be dealt with according to law.

J. H. TROWELL, Dep. Sheriff, U. C. Gilmer, Texas, Aug. 2, '58.

NEGRO Dogs! NEGRO Dogs!!—Having purchased the negro dogs formerly owned by S. R. Perry, also lately owned by James Bridges, of Dangerfield, the subscriber can in-

form the people of Upshur and adjoining counties that he will catch negroes on the following terms:

For hunting, per day \$5.00

For catching, each negro 25.00

Myself and dogs have to be boarded by the employer.

The character of the dogs need no recommendation.

No charge by the day, if I catch the negro

J. J. DUDLEY,

1 mile from Coffeeville, Upshur Co.

Mount Venon a Slave Shamble.

Playing on the bones is ordinarily deemed an accomplishment, a delicate piece of lyrical virtuosity of old Virginian origin—unless a passage in Shakespeare would indicate that it was known in the Elizabethan age: "Let us have the tongs and the bones," says the bard in *The Midsummer-Night's Dream*. But, whether the wonderful digital dexterity of more recent times was exhibited on the osseous instrument in the Shakespearean era or not, does not lessen the intense glory of the modern music. Success, however, produces imitation, and one mode of playing on the bones having begotten such glory for the Venerable Dominion; another was instituted by John A. Washington, Esq. This gentleman has been playing silver tunes on the bones of his ancestor, George Washington. He has offered the estate for sale, the bones of the hero included, of course, we suppose, though some people would say not of course; and on that theme the bones of the Pater Patriæ have been made to echo music, oratorical, dramatic, salutatory and symphonic. They have been struck together to our ears in the eloquence which is graded down to the level of Mason and Dixon's line—below the water mark of man's inherent dignity and liberty.—They have been rapped in unison with Comedy and Farce, Tragedy and Burlesque; with songs of soul-sinking love, where *cuore* rhymes to *amore*, or rampant ecstasy, where it jingles with *furore*; with *tours de force*-phenomenon-Arthur Napoleonesque flights on the grand piano; with M. Musard in every variety of snapping, bounding or limpid strains; with a twenty-five-cent Concert, where walking and talking are allowed as accompaniment to the orchestras. All these performances on the bones of the mighty dead have been virtually instituted by Mr. Washington when he offered to sell Mount Vernon for \$200,000, or whatever the sum is. Nay more, it is recommended that every lady of the myriad bouquets of loveliness in this city should change the affluent elegance of her first of January receptions into another performance of this kind; that she should put up a box in her drawing-room, where every gentleman may (must) put in a contribution; and the gentlemen who pay 250 visits of course would get off cheap at \$250 each for their respective day's visiting.

This lugubrious Mount Vernon bone-playing now resounds through the land. It is a question whether 25,000,000 people, colored persons included, can raise \$200,000 for the purchase. Calculate the sum per head, with the servile population left out, and raise it, and let the newspapers be relieved of the dolorous spiritual rapping. Raise it for patriotic, poetic, pious and political reasons. Save the memory of The Great from such cent-percent profanations.

Save it for another reason. The living Washington, it seems, needs the money. He must need it, otherwise the following advertisement from *The Alexandria Gazette* has no meaning:

'NEGROES for HIRE.—FIVE WOMEN and GIRLS, and TWO BOYS. Among the women are Cooks and House Servants. Apply, personally, to the undersigned, on Monday and Tuesday, the 27th of December, at Mount Vernon, where the negroes can be seen and examined.

"JOHN A. WASHINGTON.

"Mount Vernon, Dec. 21—dlw."

Here we have Mount Vernon transmogrified into a regular slave shamble where human beings are sold out to the highest bidder—the

proprietor living on their wages—until they are returned on his hands. Five women and girls are so dealt in by the illustrious descendant of the Father of his Country! Women that cook and bake and brew, and do the work of the housewife, and are entitled before God and man to the earnings of their heads and hands, these Mr. Washington sells out and pockets the proceeds. So, too, "boys" (men) who have an equal right to the product of their brawn and their brains. To such a cadence has Mount Vernon reached. Oh, save it Americans, from further profocation.—Stop rattling these bones in public, figuratively speaking, least they turn over in their very coffin through immortal indignation. Let us pay off the \$200,000, relieve the necessities of Mr. Washington, and protect the memory of his revolutionary ancestor.—*Tribune*.

Burning of Negro Murderers.

The Union Springs (Ala.) *Gazette*, of the 23d ult., gives the following account of the murder of Mr. Wiley Jenkins, by his slave, Milford, and the subsequent execution of the assassin by burning:

The deceased has the reputation of having, even to a fault, ever been a kind and humane master. On the day before the murder, Mr. J. had whipped this boy, Milford, or had him whipped, for some misdemeanor, and had him chained, or locked till Monday morning, when he went to him, took off his chains, and told him to "go to the mill and go to work."—The boy made some impudent reply, when Mr. J. told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down with a lock, and turned to walk away. The boy then took an axe that was lying near and struck Mr. J. on the head, and knocked him down, dropped the axe and walked away a few steps, then turned and went back, took the axe and struck him three times more on the head, and retired a short distance and sat down, making no attempt to escape.

A public meeting of the citizens, indiscriminately, was called on Wednesday, to determine what should be done with the negro, when the proposition was made to burn him alive, every one to the number of 200 to 300 voting for it. That evening at 8 o'clock, in the presence of 500 persons, he was chained to a tree and burned.

Just before the fire was set, he confirmed the above statement in every particular. He stated, also, that he had determined to kill his master some time before—that his having him whipped the day before had not instigated him to the brutal deed—that he had his knife open in his pocket to do the deed, when his master should come to unfasten him, but his heart failed him—but that when he told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down, he then proceeded to execute his fell purpose.

The culprit ceased to show any signs of life two and a half minutes from the time the torch was applied.

On the 24th ult., Mr. Simon B. Thornhill, who resided near Troy, Mo., punished one of his negroes for misconduct. The negro then rushed on his master with a large knife, and stabbed him, which caused his death in two days. The negro was taken to Troy and confined in jail. The affair caused much excitement in the county, and on Saturday a very large number of persons collected at Troy, repaired to the jail, took the murderer out, and burned to ashes.

There appear to be good grounds for believing that Lord Napier was recalled by the British government because of his misrepresenting both that government and the British nation at Washington, through his sympathies with slaveholders and slavery. Lord Derby, now Prime Minister of Great Britain, was a member of that Ministry (Earl Grey's) which passed the famous emancipation act, by which slavery was ended in the British empire. He is not likely to view pro-slavery sentiments with favor.—*Boston Traveller*.